TRADITIONAL HISTORY				REVISED HISTORY	
	dynasty	J.H.Breasted (early1900's)	CAH/Gardiner (late 1900's)	dynasty	Displaced Dynasties
Early Dynastic Period	1st	3400–2980	n/a		n/a
	2nd		n/a		n/a
Old Kingdom	3rd	2980–2900	2686-2613		2135-2062
	4th	2900–2750	2613-2498		2062-1943
	5th	2750–2625	2498-2345		1943-1794
	6th	2623–2475	2345-2181		1794-1630
First Intermediate Period	7th	2475-2445	2181-2173		1630-1622
	8th		2173-2160		1622-1609
	9th	2445-2160	2160-2130		1609-1579
	10th		2130-2040		1579-1481
Middle Kingdom	11th	2160–2000	2040-1991		1481-1446
	no gap			Intermediate Period 2A Dynasties 13 & 14 rule simultaneously	1446-1341
	12th	2000–1788	1991-1786		1341-1241
Second Intermediate Period	13th	1780–1580	1786-1575	n/a	
	14th				
	15th			Intermediate Period 2B HYKSOS PERIOD Dynasties 15-17 rule simultaneously	1241-1069
	16th				
	17th				
New Kingdom	18th	1580–1350	1575-1308		1069-870
	19th	1350–1205	1308-1194		870-765
	20th	1200–1090	1184-1087		760-671
Late Dynastic Period	21st Tanite	1090–945	1087-945		760-625
	21st Theban	1090-945	1087-945		671-560
	22nd	945–745	945-730		740-594
	23rd	745–718	817-730		715-646
	24th	718–712	720-715		n/a
	25th	712–663	751-664		637-565
	26th	663–525	664-525		543-404

Paper #1 - Argument proving the existence of a 10th century Ashuruballit

We assume that the reader of this article will have some familiarity with the documents known to historians as the Amarna Letters, but if not, a brief perusal of the Wikipedia article on this topic is available online at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amarna_letters . This treasure trove of correspondence, consisting of well over 350 tablets, written exclusively in cuneiform Akkadian, consists for the most part of letters sent from dignitaries in surrounding nations to a reigning Egyptian pharaoh, and in rare instances, copies of responses from the Egyptian king. Most originate from Canaan and Syria, but several dozen were authored by kings of Assyria, Mitanni, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia. The most frequent recipient of this correspondence was the Egyptian king Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) though there are letters addressed to and authored by Akhenaton's father Amenhotep III, and a few letters probably intended for Akhenaton's immediate successors. It is probably fair to say that most (but not all) of the archived letters date in the time frame 930-910 (which we have elsewhere termed the "Amarna period").

Though the majority of the letters originate from minor kingdoms governed by Egypt, we are here concerned only with those authored by kings further afield, outside Egypt's field of influence – specifically, the Near Eastern countries of Assyria, Mitanni, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia, the latter sometimes referred to as the "3rd dynasty of Babylon". Twenty-four letters bear the names of six kings who ruled these four nations. The breakdown of these letters is as follows:

Two letters are addressed to Akhenaton from the Assyrian king Ashuruballit (#15 & 16)

Five letters name the king of Babylonia Kadashman-Enlil, three addressed to Amenhotep III (#2, 3, & 4) and two addressed by Amenhotep III (#1 & 5).

Seven letters name Burnaburiash, the son and successor of Kadashman-Enlil. One is addressed to Amenhotep III (#6), five are addressed to Akhenaton (#7-11), and one is a reply to Burnaburiash from Akhenaton (#14).

Six letters are from the Mitanni king Tushratta, two to Amenhotep III (#23 & 24) and four to Akhenaton (#25-29). There is also a letter from Tushratta to Tiy, the widow of Amenhotep III (#26).

Three letters are authored by the Mitanni king Shuttarna and are addressed simply to "Pharaoh" (#182-184)

A single letter (#41) is addressed from the Hittite king Suppiluliuma to an unspecified pharaoh. Most scholars assume the recipient was Akhenaton, but we believe it is a late addition to the Amarna archive, and the addressee was probably Tutankhamon.

Some, but not all of these twenty-four letters are available for reading online. We include the following links for the interested reader:

- Kadashman Enlil I of Babylon complaining about not being given a royal wife and proposing the exchange of one of his daughters for gold. (EA 3)
- Burnaburiash to Akhenaten complaining about the treatment of his merchants (EA 8)
- Burnaburiash trying to get more gold from Akhenaten (EA 7)
- Burnaburiash asking for more gold (EA 9)
- Letter from the king of Cyprus (EA 35)
- Letter from Tushratta, king of Mitanni (EA 17)
- Tushratta loaning a statue of the goddess Ishtar to Amenhotep III (EA 23)

- Tushratta sending a letter to Tiye (EA 26)
- Tushratta wishing Akhenaten good health
- Ashuruballit exchanging gifts (EA 16)
- Suppiluliuma to Akhenaten (EA 41)

It goes without saying that none of these letters bears a dateline, such as would be included in modern day correspondence. Approximate dates for the letters must come from at least one of two sources - 1) The dates for Amenhotep III and Akhenaton might be determined via a lengthy and careful analysis of the reign lengths of all the kings who followed them in time, thus constructing a timeline for each dynasty following the 18th until we arrive at a dynasty or king whose absolute dates can be securely determined, or 2) Alternatively we could hope to independently determine an absolute date or range of dates for one of the other kings named in the Amarna documents, and from that determination roughly estimate the dates for the other kings, including the two 18th dynasty Egyptian kings.

Egyptologists make the extravagant claim that the Amarna letters date to around the middle of the 14th century B.C., and further, it is stated that this claim is based on their having successfully fulfilled both conditions mentioned above. On the one hand, based solely on their analysis of thousands of Egyptian documents, and numerous hieroglyphic and papyrus king lists, they date Amenhotep III's 38 year reign to the years 1391-1353 and Akhenaton's 17 year reign to the years ca 1353-1336 B.C. On the other hand, they maintain that the Amarna king named Ashuruballit, who authored the Amarna letters EA15 and EA16, is securely dated by Assyrian documentation to the years 1353-1318 B.C. Case closed - *if* we accept the traditional historians at their word.

We have already dealt with the first of the two claims by Egyptologists. Our lengthy analysis of Egyptian documents, with emphasis on the Berlin Stele of the Memphite priests of Ptah, has demonstrated that neither Amenhotep III nor his son Akhenaton could possibly have reigned anywhere near as early as the 14th century B.C. Our chronology is a vast improvement on the timeline on which the traditional history of Egypt is constructed. With precision we have positioned Akhenaton's reign in the years 940-923 B.C., supported by literally hundreds of arguments distributed through 800 pages of Volumes 1 & 2 and the first two chapters of Volume 3. On the other hand, we have argued at length against the equation Ashuruballit, son of Eriba-Adad I, the second king of the Middle Assyrian Period = Ashuruballit, son of Assur-nadin-ahhe, author of Amarna letter EA16. That equation is seriously flawed, and we have hypothesized a perfectly reasonable circumstance and location to explain the existence of an Ashuruballit, son of Assur-nadin-ahhe, king of Assyria, living in the late 10th century, precisely where we have positioned the Amarna age (see Volume 3, chapter 4, pp. 85-93). We cannot improve on that proposal, and recommend that the reader of this essay become familiar with those few pages.

What we lack in our revised history is a specific mention of an Assyrian king named Ashuruballit, living and functioning in the western provinces of the Assyrian kingdom in the final decades of the 10th century B.C., the time of Amenhotep III and Akhenaton. This essay is in part intended to overcome that deficiency. But before we examine the documents which

actually name our 10th century Ashuruballit, we mention, in passing, a site which summarizes the many arguments refuting the traditional history's identification of the Amarna king Ashuruballit and his 14th century Assyrian namesake.

The reader of this essay will no doubt be aware that in 1952 the famed revisionist Immanuel Velikovsky, in his epic historical treatise "*Ages in Chaos*", argued that the 18th dynasty must be moved forward in time to the 10th-9th centuries B.C., with the Amarna letters dating in the time frame 870-840 B.C. (Ages in Chaos, p. 229). It follows that Velikovsky faced the identical criticisms endured by all revisionists of Egyptian dynastic history, in particular the argument that equates the Middle Kingdom Ashuruballit I with the Ashuruballit of the Amarna letters. Reference to this errant equation is ubiquitous in scholarly circles, so much so that Velikovsky, in a variety of sources, penned 10 pages of counter-argument which is recommended reading for those perusing this essay. Fortunately the summary of those counter-arguments, entitled simply "Ashuruballit", has been placed online in the Velikovsky Archives, and can be read at http://www.varchive.org/ce/assuruballit.htm .

Before moving on we should also mention the fact that, while the traditional history has proposed two major positive identifications as lynchpins for its chronology - namely, the aforementioned Ashuruballit equation and the equally erroneous "Shishak=Sheshonk" identity (not otherwise mentioned in this article) - the Displaced Dynasties chronology can boast of ten times that number, of which upwards of a dozen will be mentioned in the discussion which concludes this essay. We also need to remind the reader, one last time, that our revised chronology of the Amarna age has already been "pegged" to the years 930-910, via an equation much more secure than the two utilized by the traditional history.

We refer in our previous statement to the equation "Labaya = Jeroboam I", an identification demonstrated in an argument over a dozen pages in length (see Vol. 3, chapter 2, pp 29-43) which purposed to prove that Labaya, who authored three Amarna letters (EA252-254) and is referenced in a dozen others (and whose name occurs a total of 32 times in those letters) must be identified as Jeroboam II (930-908 B.C.), successor of Solomon in the north of Israel. We demonstrated at length that their names, properly transcribed, are essentially the same, their actions uncannily parallel to one another, and their biblical and Displaced Dynasties time frames precisely equal. As we review other synchronisms in the pages to follow, we are merely adding to the archive of materials which demonstrate conclusively that Amenhotep III and his son belong to the late 10th century B.C.

Our agenda from this point on is as follows. We begin by reproducing individual kings lists for the nations of Assyria, Hatti, Mitanni, and Kassite Babylonia, in the approximate time frame 950-760 B.C. For three of these nations (Hatti, Mitanni, and Babylonia) this will require our listing the 14th-13th century king lists and then reducing dates by roughly 425-450 years, since the chronologies of these nations were fixed in a time frame over four hundred years too early via an errant Egyptian history and in part thanks to the faulty Ashuruballit equation. We will then incorporate these lists into a single table (Table 7, p. 15) which also reproduces our revised chronology of Egypt, enabling the reader to see at a glance the many synchronisms that exist

between the kings of the five nations. Then, in order to explain the early portion of the 10th/9th century Kassite Babylonian timeline, we will examine two critical documents which position the Amarna king Ashuruballit, and the early Kassite kings Burnaburiash II and his father Kadashman-Enlil I, in the second half of the 10th century B.C., with their reigns overlapping the last few years of Amenhotep III and the few years following when Akhenaton was the sole ruler of Egypt. And we will conclude this section by explaining how it is that Ashuruballit, in his Amarna letter EA16, could refer to himself as the "king of the land of Ashur", in spite of his not being named in the Assyrian king lists, and at a time when his "rule" overlapped the reign of the Assyrian kings Asher-Dan II (935-912) and the early years of Adad-Nirari II (912-891). The essay will end with a few remarks concerning synchronisms, where we will make clear to the reader that our Displaced Dynasties timeline produces several dozen "lynchpins", confirming the dates we have assigned to the Egyptian kings of the 18th and 19th dynasties. We proceed in that order.

King Lists for Assyria, Hatti, Mitanni & Babylonia in the time frame 950-760 B.C.

Assyria

Although our interest in Assyria is here confined to the time frame 950-760 B.C., we will have cause to refer occasionally to earlier kings. For that reason we have included, in the next several pages, a table of the kings of both the Middle Assyrian and the Neo-Assyrian Periods. The interested reader can peruse these king lists at the webpage listed below.

*http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List*_of_Assyrian_kings.

Several aspects of the two lists of king names need to be noted in passing.

In the first place we repeat what we have mentioned often, in other papers, namely, that the Assyrian chronology, unlike that of the other three nations we are concerned with, is based entirely on Assyrian documentation, not on synchronisms with the histories of the other nations mentioned, including Egypt. It is therefore not subject to the over 400 year displacement we apply to the chronologies of Hatti, Mitanni, and Kassite Babylonia. Having said that, there is one important caveat that must be mentioned. The Assyrian king lists, at least for the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods, correctly establish the ordering of the kings as presented below, but while some of those lists also cite the reign lengths of the respective kings, those numbers have, from time to time, been adjusted by traditional historians in order to maintain a degree of consistency, not only with other Assyrian historical documents, but also with the incorrectly positioned chronologies of the other nations. It follows that periodically the dates of some Assyrian kings, especially in the Middle Kingdom Period and earlier, may be in error by as much as several decades.

Secondly, and relatedly, the traditional histories of Hatti, Mitanni, Babylonia and Egypt, in the time frame of the 14th and 13th centuries, as they are discussed in the pages of thousands of books and journal articles, will be grossly in error ***if and to the extent which*** they incorporate into their discussion any documentation from Assyria, since those discussions will incorrectly assume the accuracy of the chronologies of the four nations cited above. If Assyrian documentation is not involved, the historical research is possibly, or even probably, reliable. For example, if a traditional historian is discussing some aspect of the reign of the Hittite king Hattusili III (1267-1237), the details discussed are probably accurate if the author is referring to Hatussili's communications with the Egyptian king Ramses II (1290-1224), or with the Babylonian king Kadashman-Enlil II (1263-1255), but not if he/she assumes correspondence with Adad-Nirari I (1295-1264) or Shalmanezer I (1263-1234). Once we have drastically lowered the chronologies of Hatti and Babylon, to match the time difference between the Displaced Dynasties chronology of 19th dynasty Egypt and the traditional history of that dynasty, Hatussili III (825-800), Kadashman-Enlil II (822-814) and Ramses II (840-774) will still be contemporaries, albeit in a markedly different time frame, but Adad-Nirari I and Shalmanezer I will no longer be on the scene. They died four centuries earlier! If a text should surface stating that Hatussili communicated with an Assyrian king Shalmanezer, that king must be Shalmanezer III (858-824), not Shalmanezer I (1263-1234) and the letter probably was dispatched at the very outset of the reign of Hatussili III, and during the last year or two of the reign of Shalmaneser III. And God alone knows what kings were ruling Hatti, Mitanni, and Babylon in the days of Adad-Nirari I and Shalmanezer I. That history remains to be written.

Table 1: Assyrian Kings of the Middle and Neo-Assyrian Periods

Middle Assyrian Period		
All of the dates in this table follow the Near Eastern "short" chronology.		
King Name	Reign	Notes
Eriba-Adad I	1380-1353	"son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu"
Ashur-uballit I	1353-1318	"son of Eriba-Adad (I)"
Enlil-nirari	1317-1308	"son of Ashur-uballit"
Arik-den-ili	1307-1296	"son of Enlil-nirari"
Adad-nirari I	1295-1264	"son of Arik-den-ili"
Shalmaneser I	1263-1234	"son of Adad-nirari (I)"
Tukulti-Ninurta I	1233-1197	"son of Shalmanezer (I)"

Ashur-nadin-apli	1196-1194	"during the lifetime of Tukulti-ninurta (I), Ashur-nadin-apli, his son, seized the throne"
Ashur-nirari III	1193-1188	"son of Ashur-nadin-apli"
Enlil-kudurri-user	1187-1183	"son of Tukulti-Ninurta (I)"
Ninurta-apal-Ekur	1182-1180	"son of Ila-Hadda, a descendant of Eriba-Adad (I), went to Karduniash. He came up from Karduniash (and) seized the throne."
Beginning with Ashur-Dan I, dates are consistent and not subject to middle/short chronology distinctions.		
Ashur-Dan I	1179-1133	"son of Ashur-nadin-apli"
Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur	1133	"son of Ashur-Dan (I), briefly"
Mutakkil-nusku	1133	"his (Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur's) brother, fought him and took him to Karduniash. Mutakkil-Nusku held the throne briefly, then died."
Ashur-resh-ishi I	1133-1115	"son of Mutakkil-Nusku"
Tiglath-Pileser I	1115-1076	"son of Ashur-resh-ishi (I)"
Asharid-apal-Ekur	1076-1074	"son of Tiglath-pileser (I)"
Ashur-bel-kala	1074-1056	"son of Tiglath-pileser (I)"
Eriba-Adad II	1056-1054	"son of Ashur-bel-kala"
Shamshi-Adad IV	1054-1050	"son of Tiglath-pileser (I), came up from Karduniash. He ousted Eriba-Adad (II), son of Ashur-bel-kala, (and seized the throne"
Ashur-nasir-pal I	1050-1031	"son of Shamshi-Adad (IV)"
Shalmaneser II	1031-1019	"son of Ashur-nasir-pal (I)"
Ashur-nirari IV	1019-1013	"son of Shalmaneser (II)"
Ashur-rabi II	1013-972	"son of Ashur-nasir-pal (I)"
Ashur-resh-ishi II	972-967	"son of Ashur-rabi (II)"
Tiglath-Pileser II	967-935	"son of Ashur-resh-ishi (II)"
Ashur-Dan II	935-912	"son of Tiglath-Pileser (II)"
Neo-Assyrian Period		
Adad-nirari II	912-891	"son of Ashur-Dan (II)"
Tukulti-Ninurta II	891-884	"son of Adad-nirari (II)"

Ashur-nasir-pal II	884-859	"son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II)"
Shalmaneser III	859-824	"son of Ashur-nasir-pal (II)"
Shamshi-Adad V	824-811	"son of Shalmaneser (III)"
Shammu-ramat, regent, 811-808 B.C.		
Adad-nirari III	811-783	"son of Shamshi-Adad (V)"
Shalmaneser IV	783-773	"son of Adad-nirari (III)"
Ashur-Dan III	773-755	"son of Shalmanexer (IV)", solar eclipse 763 BC
Ashur-nirari V	755-745	"son of Adad-nirari (III)"
Tiglath-Pileser III	745-727	"son of Ashur-nirari (V)"
Shalmaneser V	727-722	"son of Tiglath-Pileser (III)"

The reader will notice, immediately following the mention of Ninurta-apal-Ekur (1182-1180), the 6th king of the Middle Period, that the chart follows the Near Eastern "short" chronology. It is probably a good idea to become acquainted with that term, since the chronologies listed on the *Wikipedia* sites for the kings of Hatti and Kassite Babylon also follow the short chronology. The meaning of the term is not complicated and is explained in a few sentences at the Wikipedia site http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Short_chronology_timeline .

Since the meaning of the term is explained very briefly at that site, we include the definition here for ease of reference.

> The **short chronology** is one of the chronologies of the Near Eastern Bronze and Early Iron Age, which fixes the reign of Hammurabi to 1728–1686 BC and the sack of Babylon to 1531 BC. The absolute 2nd millennium BC dates resulting from this decision have very little support in academia, particularly after more recent research. The *middle chronology* (reign of Hammurabi 1792–1750 BC) is still commonly encountered in literature and the most recent work has essentially disproved the short chronology.[1] For much of the period in question, middle chronology dates can be calculated by adding 64 years to the corresponding short chronology date (e.g. 1728 BC in short chronology corresponds to 1792 in middle chronology).
> After the so-called "dark age" between the fall of Babylon and the rise of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia, absolute dating becomes less uncertain.[2] While exact dates are still not agreed upon, *the 64-year middle/short chronology dichotomy no longer applies from the beginning of the Third Babylon Dynasty onward.* (emphasis added)

Since we only utilize in this essay dates from the "3rd dynasty of Babylon" (= Kassite Babylonia), and its contemporaries in Hatti and Egypt, we are not concerned about the "middle/short

chronology dichotomy". Besides, the dates for the Kassite kings Kadashman-Enlil II and Burnaburiash II and for the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I are fixed in relation to the dating of the Egyptian kings Amenhotep III and Akhenaton. From that time forward absolute dates are not determined in reference to when the respective dynasties began. Thus the final comment in our short quotation. Moving the dates of the 14th/13th century Hittite and Kassite Babylonian kings back in time could only happen if the dates of the Egyptian 18th dynasty also moved back in time. And that eventuality would change nothing of significance in this essay. It would only increase the number of years we would be required to subtract from the traditional dates of all three kingdoms to bring them in line with our Displaced Dynasties chronology.

Hatti

Our procedure for determining 10th/9th century dates for the Hittite kings is the same as that followed in chapter 3 of our Volume 3 (pp. 53-59). We begin with traditional 14th/13th dates for those kings, obtained from some reliable source, then subtract the over 400 years necessary to bring those dates down to the 10th/9th centuries. Then we fine tune those reduced dates, adjusting them slightly on the basis of information contained in source documents. In this essay the traditional dates for the Hittites, and later for the kings of Kassite Babylonia, are reduced by the identical 435 years, that number being roughly the time difference between the traditional dating of Amenhotep III and the Displaced Dynasties dating of that same king. *As a result, the chronologies of the three nations in relation to one another in the 10th/9th centuries, remains essentially the same as it existed in the 14th/13th centuries.*

For additional information about the Hittite kings, and to retrieve the chart reproduced below in Table 2, we refer the reader to

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Hittite_kings .

Table 2: Traditional Dates for Hittite Kings of the Empire Period
(downloaded from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Hittite_kings)

Suppiluliuma I	ca. 1344–1322 BC (short)	Son of Tudhaliya II (or Hattusili II?); expanded the empire; mentioned in the Amarna letters
Arnuwanda II	ca. 1322–1321 BC (short)	Son of Suppiluliuma

Mursili II	ca. 1321–1295 BC (short)	Son of Suppiluliuma
Muwatalli II	ca. 1295–1272 BC (short)	Son of Mursili II; Battle of Kadesh, ca. 1274
Mursili III a.k.a. Urhi-Teshub	ca. 1272–1267 BC (short)	Son of Muwatalli II
Hattusili III	ca. 1267–1237 BC (short)	Brother of Muwatalli II; treaty with Egypt ca. 1258
Tudhaliya IV	ca. 1237–1209 BC (short)	Son of Hattusili III; Battle of Nihriya
Kurunta	ca. 1228–1227 BC (short)	Son of Muwatalli II; his reign is uncertain; may have ruled for a very brief time in the middle of Tudhaliya's reign.
Arnuwanda III	ca. 1209–1207 BC (short)	Son of Tudhaliya IV
Suppiluliuma II	ca. 1207–1178 BC (short)	Son of Tudhaliya IV; fall of Hattusa, ca. 1178

In Table 3 below, using the traditional dates from Table 2 and reducing those dates by 435 years, we obtain approximate late 10th – mid 8th century dates for the Empire Hittites (otherwise known by confused scholars as the Neo-Hittites). Those dates are adjusted further, following the analysis in our Volume 3 (see discussion above). These adjusted dates represent our best estimate of the true dates of the Empire Hittites. The astute reader will recognize these dates as identical to those assigned to the Neo-Hittites, wrongly identified by traditional

historians as a renaissance or re-birth of this ethnic group after the extinction of their Empire over 400 years prior. At the conclusion of this article, having proved the dating assigned to the Hittite Empire kings in our Table 3, we can delete the "Neo-Hittites" entirely from the textbooks. The equation "Empire Hittites = Neo-Hittites" argued vociferously in our Volume 3 will have been proved correct! And by the way, the reader may be interested in a recent archaeological find of an enormous 11-13 foot high statue of the "Neo-Hittite" king Suppiluliuma. If he or she wants to see this image of the "Empire" king Suppiluliuma I, it can be found online at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2182072/Royal-discovery-Canadian-student-digs-3-000-year-old-sculpture-King-Suppiluliuma.html

We should perhaps point out that in our Volume 3 analysis we concluded that the reigns of Mursillis II and his son Muwatallis overlapped for ten years and that the reign of Muwatallis (including the 10 year joint rule with his father) lasted only 14 years. Thus, while the combined reigns of the two kings lasted 49 years according to the traditional history, that figure is reduced to 25 years in the Displaced Dynasties chronology, a 24 year difference. Those 24 years belong to Suppiluliuma I, increasing his regnal years to 46 from the 22 assigned to him by the Wikipedia website. He actually ruled for 50 years, as discussed in chapter 4 of Volume 3, pp. 66-77, a chapter entitled "Hittite Synchronisms with the 9th/8th Centuries".

Table 3: Hittite Kings of the Empire Period

Name	Traditional Dates	Dates Reduced 435 yrs.	Dates Further Adjusted
Suppiluliumas	1344-1322	909-887	908-858
Arnuwandas III	1322-1321	887-886	858-857
Mursilis II	1321-1295	886-860	857-836
Muwatallis	1295-1272	860-837	846-832
Urhi-Teshub (Mursilis III)	1272-1267	837-832	832-825
Hattusilis III	1267-1237	832-802	825-800
Tudhaliyas IV	1237-1209	802-774	800-775
Arnuwandas IV	1209-1207	774-772	775-765
Suppiluliumas II	1207-1178	772-743	765-760

Mitanni

The kings of the kingdom of Mitanni are documented online at

http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mitanni

For reference purposes we duplicate in Table 4 the list of Mitanni kings listed on the Wikipedia site. Comment will follow.

Table 4: A listing of all known Mitanni kings
(Downloaded from http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mitanni)

Rulers	Reigned	Comments
Kirta	ca. 1500 BC (short)	
Shuttarna I		Son of Kirta
Parshatatar orParrattarna		Son of Kirta
Shaushtatar		Contemporary of Idrimi of Alalakh, Sacks Ashur
Artatama I		Treaty with Pharaoh Thutmose IV of Egypt, Contemporary of Pharaoh Amenhotep II of Egypt
Shuttarna II		Daughter marries Pharaoh Amenhotep III of Egypt in his year 10
Artashumara		Son of Shutarna II, brief reign
Tushratta	ca. 1350 BC (short)	Contemporary of Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites and Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV of Egypt, Amarna letters
Artatama II		Treaty with Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites, ruled same time as Tushratta
Shuttarna III		Contemporary of Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites
Shattiwaza or Kurtiwaza		Mitanni becomes vassal of the Hittite Empire
Shattuara		Mittani becomes vassal of Assyria under Adad-nirari I
Wasashatta		Son of Shattuara
Shattuara II		Last king of Mitanni before the Assyrian conquest
*All dates must be taken with caution since they are worked out only by comparison with the chronology of other ancient Near Eastern nations.		

We are not surprised that the table of Mitanni kings contains but a single specific date in the $14^{th}/13^{th}$ century time frame we are focusing on in this essay. As stated in the footnote at the bottom of the table, any dates supplied to the Mitanni kings must be deduced from secondary sources. The absence of any internally documented relative chronology for the kingdom of

Mitanni is a consequence of the fact that the named kings who preceded and followed Tushratta are not generally well attested in the literature, and their reign lengths, not to mention their relative dates (and by extension their absolute dates) remain seriously in doubt. Even the one dated king, Tushratta, is no exception to the rule, since his single date (ca. 1350) is clearly derived from the fact that he authored six Amarna letters EA23-29, two to Amenhotep III and four to Akhenaton. But that fact at least provides us with a range of dates for this king, rather than the single date provided in the downloaded chart. Based on the fact that he was ruling during the last few years of Amenhotep III (1391-1353) and the initial few years of Akhenaton's independent reign, we can safely assign to him the years 1355-1350 B.C. Reducing these dates by 425 years suggests that he actually reigned, minimally, in the time frame 930-925 B.C. And those dates could easily be extended were we interested in doing so.

It follows from the discussion thus far that, at least for the duration of this essay, we are leaving the Mitanni out of much of our timeline analysis. Without dates, the Mitanni kings (other than Tushratta) can contribute little to our analysis of the king lists, where our interest is largely concerned with synchronisms. Thus we have omitted the Mitanni from our all-inclusive Table 7 (page 15) and from our concluding timeline (Figure 3, page 26). At a later date we hope to complete an essay on the Mitanni.

Before we move on we should stress one point. The Mitanni are not an insignificant nation, and they do figure prominently in the early part of our 950-760 B.C. time frame. As such the Mitanni play an important role in the brief discussion which precedes our final comments, where we attempt to explain the circumstances and context in which our elusive king Ashuruballit ruled "the land of Ashur". In this discussion the Mitanni must play a part, since the Mitanni are the dominant nation in the Ancient Near East in the last decades of the 10th century. They control the far north of Syria, including the city states of Carchemish and Aleppo. Their territory encompasses the whole of present day northern Iraq including the territory north and east of the western bend of the Euphrates, and most significantly, they rule over the central region of present day Iraq, both west and east of the Khabur River, i.e. the whole of the "land of Ashur". It follows that "*Assyria in the days of Ashur-Dan II was a tributary of the Mitanni nation.*"

Kassite Babylon (3rd Dynasty of Babylon)

The reader can follow the traditional dates for the kings of Babylonia at the following link:

http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kassites

By now it should have become obvious to the reader that this article is primarily concerned with the Babylonian kings of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C., whence will come, following their transference to the 10th and 9th centuries, the promised references to our late 10th century Ashuruballit.

To facilitate our eventual discussion, we list the traditional dates of all of the Babylonian Kassite kings precisely as they are presented on the Wikipedia site in the link provided above. The results are shown in our Table 5 below. Following that table we select only the relevant 14th and 13th century Babylonian kings, itemizing them in the first column of yet another table (our Table 6). Then, as we did for the Hittite kings in Table 3 earlier, we reduce these dates by over 400 years (in this case precisely 430 years) and list them in column two. Finally, we fine tune the results in column three in order to reflect some well-known synchronisms between the Kassite kings and the pharaohs of the Egyptian 18th and 19th dynasties. The critical portion of our discussion will then follow.

Table 5: Kassite Kings for the Entire 3rd Dynasty of Babylon
(copied directly from the online Wikipedia site)

Ruler	Reigned	Comments
Agum II orAgum-Kakrime		Returns Marduk statue to Babylon
Burnaburiash I	ca. 1500 BC (short)	Treaty with Puzur-Ashur III of Assyria
Kashtiliash III		
Ulamburiash	ca. 1480 BC (short)	Conquers the first Sealand Dynasty
Agum III	ca. 1470 BC (short)	possible campaigns Against "The Sealand" and "in Dilmun"
Karaindash	ca. 1410 BC (short)	Treaty with Ashur-bel-nisheshu of Assyria
Kadashman-harbe I	ca. 1400 BC (short)	Campaign against the Sutû
Kurigalzu I	ca. x-1375 BC (short)	Founder of Dur-Kurigalzu and contemporary of Thutmose IV
Kadashman-Enlil I	ca. 1374—1360 BC (short)	Contemporary of Amenophis III of the Egyptian Amarna letters
Burnaburiash II	ca. 1359—1333 BC (short)	Contemporary of Akhenaten and Ashur-uballit I
Kara-hardash	ca. 1333 BC (short)	Grandson of Ashur-uballit I of Assyria
Nazi-Bugash orShuzigash	ca. 1333 BC (short)	Usurper “son of a nobody”
Kurigalzu II	ca. 1332—1308 BC (short)	Son of Burnaburiash II, Lost ? Battle of Sugagi with Enlil-nirari of Assyria
Nazi-Maruttash	ca. 1307—1282 BC (short)	Lost territory to Adad-nirari I of Assyria
Kadashman-Turgu	ca. 1281—1264 BC (short)	Contemporary of Hattusili III of the Hittites
Kadashman-Enlil II	ca. 1263—1255 BC (short)	Contemporary of Hattusili III of the Hittites
Kudur-Enlil	ca. 1254—1246 BC (short)	Time of Nippur renaissance
Shagarakti-Shuriash	ca. 1245—1233 BC (short)	“Non-son of Kudur-Enlil” according to Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria
Kashtiliashu IV	ca. 1232—1225 BC (short)	Deposed by Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria

Enlil-nadin-shumi	ca. 1224 BC (short)	Assyrian vassal king
Kadashman-Harbe II	ca. 1223 BC (short)	Assyrian vassal king
Adad-shuma-iddina	ca. 1222—1217 BC (short)	Assyrian vassal king
Adad-shuma-usur	ca. 1216—1187 BC (short)	Sender of rude letter to Aššur-nirari and Ilī-ḫaddâ, the kings of Assyria
Meli-Shipak II	ca. 1186—1172 BC (short)	Correspondence with Ninurta-apal-Ekur confirming foundation ofNear East chronology
Marduk-apla-iddina I	ca. 1171—1159 BC (short)	
Zababa-shuma-iddin	ca. 1158 BC (short)	Defeated by Shutruk-Nahhunte of Elam
Enlil-nadin-ahi	ca. 1157—1155 BC (short)	Defeated by Kutir-Nahhunte II of Elam

From this table we must select kings who, with the appropriate reduction of dates, actually belong in our designated 10th/9th century time frame. But before we do that we need to make clear to the reader one of the unique features of the Babylonian chronology presented in Table 4. The Kassite kingdom, like that of the Mitanni cited earlier, has preserved very little internal documentation in support of its timeline. The ordering of its kings, and in many cases the reign lengths of those kings, are derived from two primary sources – Assyrian and Egyptian documentation. And therein lies a major difficulty in our attempt to determine our 10th and 9th century king list for this nation. Where the existence and/or the dates of a particular Kassite king are determined via a reference to a known Assyrian king, the Kassite king must remain fixed in the time frame allocated to him in Table 3. The dates of the Assyrian kings are written in stone, so to speak. But where the position of a Kassite king in Table 3 was determined by scholars via a synchronism with a named Egyptian king, we are free to lower the dates for the Kassite king sufficiently to maintain that synchronism, assuming that the dates of the Egyptian king in question have been lowered, as in the case of the Displaced Dynasties chronology. Fortunately for our discussion, all of the Kassite kings from Kurigalzu I (x-1375) to Kadashman-Enlil II (1263-1255) can be linked to one another, and in turn to the 14th/13th century Egyptian timetable, with remarkable precision. And for that to happen in the new 10th/9th century context their 14th/13th century dates need to be lowered by approximately 435 years, the identical figure applied to the traditional dates for the Hittite kings. There may be yet other Kassite kings whose dates need to be lowered by that amount, but the nine Kassite kings mentioned are the ones whose conventional dates, lowered by 435 years, place them firmly in our designated 10th/9th century time frame. They are therefore the kings of most interest to this article. We have not bothered to examine the documentation related to Kassite kings earlier than Kurigalzu I or later than Kadashman-Enlil II.

We proceed to determine the 10th/9th century dates of the nine kings from Kurigalzu I to Kadashman-Enlil II.

Table 6: Kassite Kings ruling in the Late 10th through the 9th centuries B.C.

Name	Traditional Dates	Dates Reduced 430 yrs.	Dates Further Adjusted
Kurigalzu I	x-1375	x-945	x-945
Kadashman-Enlil I	1374-1360	944-930	944-930
Burnaburiash II	1359-1333	929-903	929-903
Kara-hardash	1333	903	902-897
Nazi-Bugash (or Shuzigash)	1333	903	896-895
Kurigalzu II	1332-1308	902-878	894-869
Nazi-Maruttash	1307-1282	877-852	868-843
Kadashman-Turgu	1281-1264	851-834	842-823
Kadashman-Enlil II	1263-1255	833-825	822-814

And now we itemize, in Table form, the kings ruling the five nations of concern to this essay.

Table 7: A Comparison of the King Lists for Babylon, Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria and Egypt in the time frame 950-800 B.C.

	Kassite Babylon	**Hatti**	**Mitanni**	**Assyria**	**Egypt**
960-940	Kurigalau I x-1375 B.C. x-944 B.C . Kadashman-Enlil I 1374-1360 944-930				Amenhotep III 966-928 Amenhotep IV 940-923
940-920	Kadashman-Enlil I Burnaburiash II 1359-1333 929-903	Tudhaliya II x-1344 B.C. x-908 B.C.	Tushratta x-1350 x-930-925	Ashur-Dan II 935-912	Amenhotep III Amenhotep IV 940-923
920-900	*Burnaburiash II* *Kara-hardash* *1333* *902-897*	Tudhaliya II Suppiluliumas 1344-1322 908-858		Ashur-Dan II Adad-Nirari II 912-891	

900-880	Kara-Hardash Nazi-Bugash or Shuzi 1333 896-895 Kurigalzu II 1332-1308 894-869	Suppiluliumas		Adad-Nirari II Tukulti Ninurta II 891-884 Ashurnasirpal II 884-859	Haremheb 897-870
880-860	Kurigalzu II Nazi-Maruttash 1307-1282 868-843	Suppiluliumas		Ashurnasirpal II Shalmanezer III 858-824	Haremheb Ramses I 870-869 Seti 869-840
860-840	Nazi-Maruttash Kadashman-Turgu 1281-1264 842-823	Suppiluliumas Mursilis II 1321-1295 857-836 Muwatallis II 1295-1272 846-832		Shalmanezer III	Seti
840-820	Kadashman-Turgu Kadashman-Enlil II 1263-1255 822-814	Muwatallis II Urhi-Teshub a.k.a. Mursilis III 1272-1267 832-825 Hattusilis III 1267-1237 825-800		Shalmanezer III Shamshi Adad V 823-810	Ramses II 840-774
820-800	Kadashman-Enlil II	Hattusilis III		Shamshi Adad V Shammuramat 809-792	Ramses II
800-780		Tudhaliyas IV 1237-1209 800-775		Shammuramat Adad-Nirari III 791-782 Shalmanezer IV 781-772	Ramses II
780-760		Tudhaliyas IV Suppiluliuma II 1207-1178 765-760		Ashur Dan III 771-764	Ramses II Merenptah 774-764

It is now time to position Ashuruballit on our Displaced Dynasties timeline.

The Ashuruballit History

Two critical Assyrian and Babylonian Tablets

This section and the one to follow are both concerned with confirming the fact that the Ashuruballit who authored the two Amarna letters (EA15 & EA16) lived during the last third of the 10th century B.C. The two source documents which establish that fact are known to scholars as the *Synchronistic History* and the *Chronicle P* history. The clay tablets which furnish these two histories are each inscribed on both sides with cuneiform Akkadian text, two columns on each side. The four columns of text which thus make up each document can be perused online at the sources listed below. Though we are primarily concerned with the first column of the Synchronistic History and the 1st, 3rd and 4th columns of Chronicle P, the reader may wish to skim through the whole of each document.

Online sources of the Synchronistic History (tablet ABC21), an Assyrian tablet
plus two fragments, and the Chronicle P history (a single Babylonian tablet, ABC22).

http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc21/synchronistic1.html
http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc21/synchronistic2.html

http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc22/p1.html
http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc22/p2.html

Table 8: The "Ashuruballit History" as presented on the source documents.

Synchronistic History – tablet ABC21	Chronicle P – tablet ABC22
Introduction	Introduction
The **Synchronistic Chronicle** (ABC 21) is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Assyria. It deals with the relations between Assyria and its southern neighbor Babylonia (which is called Karduniaš), and is an important source for those who want to study the chronology of this period, as it offers many synchronisms. For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here. The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (Atlanta, 2004).	**[Chronicle P** (ABC 22) is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Babylonia. It deals with several conflicts between Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam in the fourteenth to twelfth century BCE. It may be a Babylonian adaptation of the Assyrian Synchronistic History. For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here. The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (Atlanta, 2004). The tablet, BM 92701 (82-7-4, 38), upon which Chronicle P is inscribed is in very poor condition. The

The text, which has a strong pro-Assyrian bias, is preserved on three tablets from the library of king Aššurbanipal in Nineveh, and purports to render the text of a boundary stone between Assyria and Babylonia that stood somewhere on the east bank of the Tigris. This may be a literary fiction. The text must have been composed after the accession of Adad-nirari III in 810, but not much later, because there are no references to later troubles. **Colors** Of the three tablets, tablet ***A*** (yellow) is the main text; ***B*** (pink) and ***C*** (blue) are fragments.	fragment is 180 mm wide and 120 mm long and represents only about one third of the original tablet. The fragment comes from the bottom portion of the chronicle.]
Relevant Lines	Relevant Lines
Column 1 (lines 8-23) A8' In the time of Aššur-uballit,[2] king of Assyria, Kassite troops[10] A11' rebelled against and killed Karahardaš,[8] A9' king of Karduniaš, son of Muballit-šerua, A10' the daughter of Aššur-uballit. A12' They appointed Nazibugaš,[11] a Kassite, son of a nobody, as sovereign over them. --- A13' To avenge Karaindaš, his grandson,[14] Aššur-uballit A14' marched to Karduniaš. A15' He killed Nazibugaš, king of Karduniaš. A16' Kurigalzu the Younger, son of Burnaburiaš, A17' he appointed as king and put him on his father's throne.[3] --- A18' In the time of Enlil-nirari,[4] king of Assyria, Kurigalzu the Younger, was king of Karduniaš. A19' At Sugagi, which is on the Tigris, Enlil-nirari, king of Assyria, A20' fought with Kurigalzu. He brought about his total defeat, slaughtered his troops and A21' carried off his camp. They divided the districts[22] from Šasili of Subartu, A22' to Karduniaš into two and A23' fixed the boundary-line. From one of the fragments (tablet C) the Synchronistic Chronicle has added the following lines: C24' Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, and Nazi-Marrutaš, king of Karduniaš,[5] C25' fought with one another at Kar-Ištar of Ugarsallu.	Column 1 (lines 5-14) 5' Kadašman-harbe, son of Karaindaš, son of Muballitat-serua, 6' the daughter of Aššur-uballit,[1] king of Assyria, ordered[7] the overthrow of the Suteans 7' from the east to west, and annihilated their extensive forces. 8' He reinforced the fortresses in Mount Šaršar.[2] He dug wells and 9' settled people on fertile lands to strengthen the guard. Afterwards 10' the Kassite people rebelled against him and killed him. Šuzigaš, a Kassite, 11' the son of a nobody,[3] they appointed as sovereign over them. Aššur-uballit, 12' king of Assyria, marched to Karduniaš[13], to avenge Kadašman-harbe, his daughter's son, and 13' Šuzigaš, the Kassite, 14' he killed. Aššur-uballit put Kurigalzu, son of Kadašman-harbe, on his father's throne. End of Column 3 (lines 20-24) 20' He went to conquer Adad-nirari, king of Assyria. 21' He did battle against him at Sugaga, which is on the Tigris, and brought about his defeat. 22' He slaughtered his soldiers and captured his officers. --- 23' Nazi-maruttaš, son of [...] [2] 24' king of Assyria in [...]. Lacuna Beginning of Column 4 (lines 1-11)

C26' Adad-nirari brought about the total defeat of Nazi-Marrutaš and C27' conquered him. He took away from him his camp and his standards. C28' As for this very boundary-line, they fixed a division of[31] C29' their confines from Pilasqu, C30' which is on the other side of the Tigris, and Arman of Ugarsallu C31' as far as Lullume.	1' [...] 2' [...] he threw iron bands and [...] [3] 3' [...] Tukulti-Ninurta returned to Babylon and 4' brought [...] near. He destroyed the wall of Babylon and put[5] the Babylonians to the sword. 5' He took out the property of the Esagila and Babylon amid the booty. The statue of the great lord Marduk 6' he removed from his dwelling-place and sent him to Assyria. 7' He put his governors[6] in Karduniaš. For seven years, Tukulti-Ninurta 8' controlled Karduniaš[7]. After the Akkadian officers of Karduniaš had rebelled and 9' put Adad-šuma-ušur on his father's throne, 10' Aššur-nasir-apli, son of that Tukulti-Ninurta who had[9] carried criminal designs against Babylon, and the officers of Assyria rebelled against Tukulti-Ninurta, 11' removed him from the throne, shut him up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and killed him.

We begin our analysis of these two historical source documents by pointing out the obvious. The two tablets being referenced treat essentially the same subject matter, one from an Assyrian perspective, the other - Babylonian. The Babylonian tablet is not only more detailed, it also appears to be, by far, the most reliable, as we might have expected *a priori*. Both documents concern historical relations between Assyria and Babylon and both appear to be biased in their reporting, but since most of the activity being referenced took place within Babylon, or in the disputed boundary area between the two countries, we would expect that the Babylonian historian/scribe, as opposed to an Assyrian copyist, would have the best access to the necessary reference materials.

Additionally, we note that the Assyrian Synchronistic History surfaced during the 19th century excavation of Ashurbanipal's massive library in Nineveh. Since Ashurbanipal ruled roughly in the time frame 669 to sometime between 631 and 627 B.C., his scribes were distanced from the event they write about by approximately 250-300 years in our Displaced Dynasties chronology or 675-725 years in the conventional history. Ashurbanipal is well known as perhaps the world's first bibliophile, and his extensive library was well stocked with literary and historical documents copied from a wide variety of sources. We wonder how accurate that copying was.

The Chronicle P, on the other hand, is of unknown provenance, and is likely a one of a kind original document, written around the year 800 B.C. according to many scholars, or slightly later, during the reign of Nabonassar (747-732), king of Babylon. It may suit the reader to become familiar with the Babylonian Chronicles via the link shown below:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babylonian_Chronicles

For convenience we quote only the brief introduction to this online article:

> The **Babylonian Chronicles** are many series of tablets recording major events in Babylonian history. They are thus one of the first steps in the development of ancient historiography. The Babylonian Chronicles were written from the reign of Nabonassar up to the Parthian Period, by Babylonian astronomers ("Chaldaeans"), who probably used the *Astronomical Diaries* as their source.
>
> Almost all of the tablets were identified as chronicles once in the collection of the British Museum, having been acquired via antiquities dealers from unknown excavations in the 19th century. All but three of the chronicles are unprovenanced.

Whenever it was composed, the Chronicle P is almost certainly an original document, composed utilizing Babylonian historical records. As a result, it is arguably the most reliable.

We begin our construction of the "Ashuruballit history" by creating a timetable of events as they are described in the first column of the each of the documents and the relevant verses of the 3rd and 4th columns of the Chronicle P. In the course of this analysis we will venture our opinion on the reliability of the two versions.

The Synchronistic History

From lines 8-12 of column one of the Synchronistic History (Henceforth cited as SH) we read that an Assyrian king named Ashuruballit gave one of his daughters, Muballit-Sherua, in marriage to a yet unspecified Kassite king. A male child named Karahardash resulted from that union, and this individual became king at the death of his father (or of his paternal grandfather). Karahardash was subsequently killed in a rebellion of loyalist Kassite troops, who possibly resented his ethnicity, if not his leadership of the Kassite army. Those troops then installed as king a native Kassite "son of nobody" named Nazi-bugash.

From SH lines 13-17 we learn that Ashuruballit responded to the death of his grandson by invading Babylon (Karduniash in the text is the Kassites name for the country of Babylonia), deposing and killing Nazi-bugash, and installing in his stead Kurigalzu, probably another son of Muballit-Sherua, or perhaps a half-brother of Karahardash. The reference to Kurigalzu as "the Younger" possibly serves to distinguish this king from his great-great grandfather Kurigalzu I, much as scholars today affix a different number to king's with identical names in order to distinguish them.

And for the first time we are informed that Ashuruballit's appointments to the Kassite throne are drawn from the family of Burnaburiash. Once again it is not clear if Kurigalzu is a son or a grandson of Burnaburiash (since Akkadian "son" can mean "grandson" or even "descendant"). The two most probable interpretations of the language are diagrammed below (Figure 1).

From SH lines 18-23 we are informed that sometime after he became king, Kurigalzu led the Kassite army in battle against an Assyrian king named Enlil-Nirari, presumably a son of Ashuruballit. The battle took place at Sugagi on the Tigris River, somewhere near the border separating the two countries. Assyria prevailed. Kassite troops were slaughtered. And the borders between the two countries, apparently the issue that caused the war, were re-aligned in favor of Assyria.

From SH lines 24-31 (supplied by fragment C) we learn that Nazi-Maruttash, a king of Karduniash, apparently the successor of Kurigalzu, fought yet another battle with Assyria over border issues, this time with Adad-nirari, king of Assyria. The battle took place at Kar-Ishtar of Ugarsallu. Adad-nirari was victorious and the border was once again moved to the benefit of Assyria.

What do we make of this Assyrian version of events? Or better still, what do scholars make of it? We restrict our answer to three points.

1. Clearly two possibilities for the genealogy of Kurigalzu exist, and they are diagrammed in Figure 1 below. The academic community generally, and certainly the Wikipedia source we followed in our Tables 4 and 5, appear to favor the one on the left, where Burnaburiash is succeeded directly by Kara-hardash, though that scenario is clearly possible in the genealogy depicted on the right, assuming the unnamed son died while Burnaburiash was still alive. Our reason for even discussing the matter will become clear momentarily, when we examine the Chronicle P version of events. That document insists on the genealogy on the right, and even supplies the name of "the unnamed son". Of the two documents Assyriologists clearly favor the Synchronistic History and are biased against the Chronicle P history. We will understand that sentiment once we finish analyzing the Chronicle P.

Figure 1: The Ashuruballit connection to the Kassite family of Burnaburiash
(according to the Synchronistic Chronicle)

2. Without exception, scholars identify the Ashuruballit mentioned in this historical vignette with the 2nd king of the Assyrian Middle Kingdom. We would expect nothing else, even if the document said nothing about Kurigalzu fighting a battle with an Assyrian king named Enlil-nirari at Sugagi on the Tigris River. But clearly that reference strengthens their case, since the Ashuruballit of the Assyrian king lists was succeeded by a son named Enlil-nirari. Everything

seems to fit. Case closed? Hardly. The reader will recall that this Synchronistic History was copied by Assyrian scribes about two hundred years after the death of Ashuruballit, assuming our late 10th century provenance for these events. Those scribes would certainly be familiar with the king lists, and in particular they would know that those lists contained the name of only one king Ashuruballit. They would also know that the son who succeeded this king was named Enlil-nirari. Assuming that the document(s) from which they copied this "Ashuruballit History" spoke of a battle at Sugagi following the death of Ashuruballit, it is not a stretch to surmise that a well- intentioned but sadly mistaken scribe might supply the name Enlil-nirari, especially if the document only spoke of a battle in which "the son" of Ashuruballit took part. Even if the document being copied supplied some other name for the opponent of Kurigalzu, an Assyrian scribe might well assume an error and correct the error. And we are not guessing, since the Chronicle P account of the Sugagi incident does in fact supply another name. And the accuracy of that name can be verified from other details in the document.

3. If we were to remove the name of Enlil-nirari from the Synchronistic History scholars would be left with nothing but the name of Ashuruballit to argue the 14th century positioning of this sequence of events. Apart from these two documents the 14th century king is almost totally unknown. It is because scholars attribute this "Ashuruballit History" to Ashuruballit, son of Eriba-Adad, that the 14th century king is reckoned as one of the most powerful of the Assyrian monarchs, when in fact he was possibly an extremely weak ruler. This state of affairs reminds this author of the similar situation that took place regarding the Egyptian 18th dynasty king named Menkheperre Thutmose. The annals of a king by this name, inscribed on the Karnak temple walls in Thebes, have been mistakenly attributed to the 18th dynasty king bearing that name, rather than the 7th century Nubian king of Egypt, an extremely successful military leader, whose Nubian name was Piankhi. As a result, the 18th dynasty king, a rather pathetic, anemic individual who died an early and painful death, is still today reckoned as the greatest military figure in Egyptian history. Hopefully we can eventually set the record straight on both the Assyrian king Ashuruballit, son of Eriba-Adad and the 18th dynasty pharaoh Menkheperre Thutmose III.

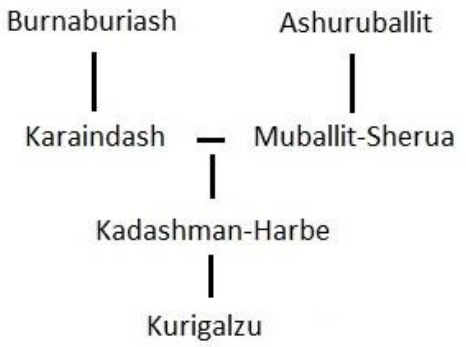
The Chronicle P Version of Events

From lines 5 and 6 of column 1 we learn that the chronology depicted on the right in our Figure 1 is correct, and that the scribe who copied the Synchronistic history has probably misnamed the grandson of Burnaburiash. Here, rather than Kara-hardash, we find the grandson of Burnaburiash identified as Kadashman-harbe, a familiar name in the Kassite king list. Kadashman-Harbe in turn is identified as the father of Kurigalzu. It is possible, of course, that the king had two names, perhaps a birth name and a throne name, as did many kings in the Near East of the 10th century B.C.

This Kadashman-harbe was "the son of Karaindash (his father) and the son of Muballitat-sherua (his mother)", who in turn is identified again as the daughter of Ashuruballit. Thus we can depict his genealogical connections by simply reproducing the right hand diagram from our

Figure 1, supplying the name Karaindash in place of the "unnamed son" of Burnaburiash, and making Kurigalzu a son of Kadashman-Harbe rather than Karaindash. This revised genealogy is shown below as our Figure 2.

Figure 2: The Ashuruballit connection to the Kassite family of Burnaburiash
(according to the Chronicle P)



We note at the tail end of verse 6 and continuing through verse 9 that this Kadashman-harbe was very active during his reign, successfully stopping the present intrusion into Babylonia, from east to west, of nomadic, warlike rebels called "Suteans", and restructuring his country to better stave off future attacks. We will say more about these nomadic rebels later. Ethnically they are identified as Arameans by many scholars.

Verses 10-14 complete the story essentially as we read it in the Synchronistic History, except for the fact that the Kassite "son of a nobody" installed on the throne of Karduniash is named Shuzigash, not Nazi-bugash, and that it was the "Kassite people", not the army, that killed the grandson of Burnaburiash. Both changes are incidental to the story, though they do inform us that the scribe who authored the Synchronistic History must not have been copying Chronicle P. If he were we would not expect the story to have so many variants.

To this point in the story, in spite of the variants, we have no major disagreements with what is written in the two source documents. Our objection to identifying Ashuruballit, father of Muballitat-sherua, as the Middle Assyrian king Ashuruballit, son of Ariba-Adad, comes from the final few verses of the 3rd column and the first eleven verses of the 4th column of Chronicle P.

Verses 20-22 in column three tell essentially the same story as we found in lines 18-23 of the Synchronistic history. They describe a battle between Kassite Babylonia and Assyria. But where the Synchronistic history pits Kurigalzu against Enlil-nirari, Chronicle P states clearly that the Assyrian opponent of Kurigalzu was Adad-nirari, king of Assyria. The battle still takes place at Shugaga (=Shugagi) on the Tigris, but this time Kurigalzu is cited as the victor, and it was Kurigalzu (or Nazi Maruttash who we think was leading his army) who slaughtered the soldiers and captured the officers of the Assyrian king. Clearly, if we accept this version of the battle, the link with Ashuruballit, son of Eriba-Adad has been broken. Needless to say, not a single scholar accepts the Chronicle P version of events. But we are not finished the story.

Regrettably the final two verses of column three, and the initial three verses of column four are damaged on the tablet, and we can only guess at the missing text. It is probable, but not certain, that the missing text described the same incident we read about in lines 24-31 of column 1 in the Synchronistic History." But if so, it is clear that the Synchronistic History has once again supplied an incorrect name for the Assyrian king. It has also wrongly identified Nazi-Marrutash as king and falsely declared victory for Assyria. Thus, in the Synchronistic History it was Adad-Nirari defeating Nazi-Maruttash, king of Karduniash at Kar-Ishtar of Ugarsallu; in the Chronicle P damaged text it is Nazi Maruttash (not identified as a king) defeating Tukulti-Ninurta, presumably at the same location.

It is the considered opinion of this author that Nazi-maruttash actually fought both battles described thus far. At the beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu, this son of Kurigalzu was given control of the army, and in that capacity fought and won a battle against Adad-Nirari at Shugaga. Later, Nazi-Maruttash, still in control of the army, fought and defeated Tukulti-Ninurta. Victory for Babylon in this battle is a certainty, otherwise there is no explanation why Tukulti-Ninurta would attack and defeat Babylonia twice in succession, in battles possibly only months apart. Assuming he lost the first battle, we understand why soon after he would attempt to reverse his losses. We cannot prove our assumption that Nazi-Maruttash was not king when he fought both battles, first with Adad-Nirari, and then with Tukulti-Ninurta, but momentarily, when we place the "Ashuruballit History" in its proper historical context, that assumption will prove correct.

Verses 4-7a of the Chronicle P continues by describing Tukulti-Ninurta's assault of and victory over Babylonia, and his removal to Assyria of a statue of Marduk, a Babylonian moon god, apparently a symbolic act to underscore his victory. Verses 7 and 8a state clearly that Tukulti-Ninurta subsequently governed Babylon for seven years, and verses 10 and 11 state that at the end of the seven years his son Ashur-nasir-apli (Ashurnasirpal) and the officers of Assyria "rebelled against Tukulti-Ninurta, removed him from the throne, shut him up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and killed him. So far, so good. But what do we make of verses 8b-9?

We are not told in the preceding verses who the king of Karduniash was when Tukulti-Ninurta invaded Babylonia. If we are correct in our assumption that it was still Kurigalzu, and that Nazi-Maruttash was still his army general, then Kurigalzu remained nominally the "king of Karduniash" throughout the seven years duration, though perhaps confined in Assyria. The de facto ruler of Karduniash was the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta via the governors he placed in the country. Apparently this state of affairs came to a head after seven years when officers of Kurigalzu in Akkad, the traditional name for the northernmost part of Babylonia, rebelled against Kurigalzu (or more likely against Tukulti-Ninurta) and declared one of their own, an individual named Adad-shuma-user, to be king. This rebellion in Karduniash in turn seems to have inspired Assyrian officers, in co-operation with Ashernasirpal, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, to stage their own coup. Tukulti-Ninurta was killed, Ashernasirpal became king, and Kurigalzu was likely released to continue governing Karduniash. Admittedly some of this supplied history is mere conjecture, but momentarily we will supply proof that we are right.

While the preceding comments regarding happenings in Kassite Babylon may be conjecture, not so with the situation in Assyria. The entire text of columns 3 and 4 of Chronicle P make it absolutely certain that three Assyrian kings by the names Adad-Nirari, Tukulti-Ninurta, and his son Ashurbanipal, ruled Assyria consecutively and in that order, and all, apparently, during the twenty-five year reign of Kurigalzu, king of Karduniash. It should be a relatively simple exercise to locate this sequence of kings on the Assyrian king list we reproduced earlier.

There is indeed a king Adad-Nirari I whose reign spanned the years 1295-1264, who might, at first glance, qualify as the first king named in the Chronicle P document, except for the fact that this king was not succeeded by a king Tukulti Ninurta. The first Tukulti-Ninurta we encounter on the Assyrian king list began his rule in 1233, and this king did not have a son named Ashurnasirpal. The first king Ashur-nasir-pal in Assyria did not begin ruling until 1050 B.C., all this according to a list which scholars regard as extremely accurate. It follows that we can discount entirely the possibility that the "Ashuruballit history" belongs in an Assyrian Middle Kingdom context. But what about the second kings bearing those three names.

It will come as no surprise to students of the history of the Ancient Near East that three kings bearing the names Adad-Nirari II (912-891), Tukulti-Ninurta II (891-884) and Ashurnasirpal II (884-859) were the first kings to rule Assyria in the Neo-Assyrian period. As their dates indicate, they ruled consecutively and in the order indicated***.*** *There is therefore absolutely no doubt that they are the kings named in columns 3 and 4 of the Chronicle P.* And since the reign of the 9th century Tukulti-Ninurta II lasted only seven years – precise as described in the text of Chronicle P, assuming of course, that he began his battle with Nazi-Maruttash and his subsequent assault on Karduniash only months after beginning his reign - there is absolutely no problem situating the twenty-five year reign of Kurigalzu so that it overlaps the reigns of all three Assyrian kings. In fact, this situation is already suggested by the chronology we have determined in our Tables 6 & 7.

When we reduced the dates of the Kassite Babylonia kings by 435 years, in order to maintain the synchronism between Burnaburiash and Amenhotep IV of Egypt, we decided to slightly increase the reign length of Kara-hardash (=Kadashman-Harbe) from "less than one", to five years. This increase of five years in the reign of Kadashman-Harbe, and thus the resulting five year lowering of the dates for his successor Kurigalzu, was entirely justified, considering the fact that Karahardash waged what must have been an extensive and time consuming battle against the infiltration of the nomadic, warlike Suteans, this activity ranging from the east to the west of the country. And in order to increase the defensive capacity of the country this same king also reinforced the fortresses in Mount Sarshar, and dug wells and re-settled part of the population on the newly irrigated border lands to strengthen the guard (Chronicle P, column 1, lines 7-9). All of this took time. He certainly did not die within months of his coronation as indicated in our downloaded Kassite king list.

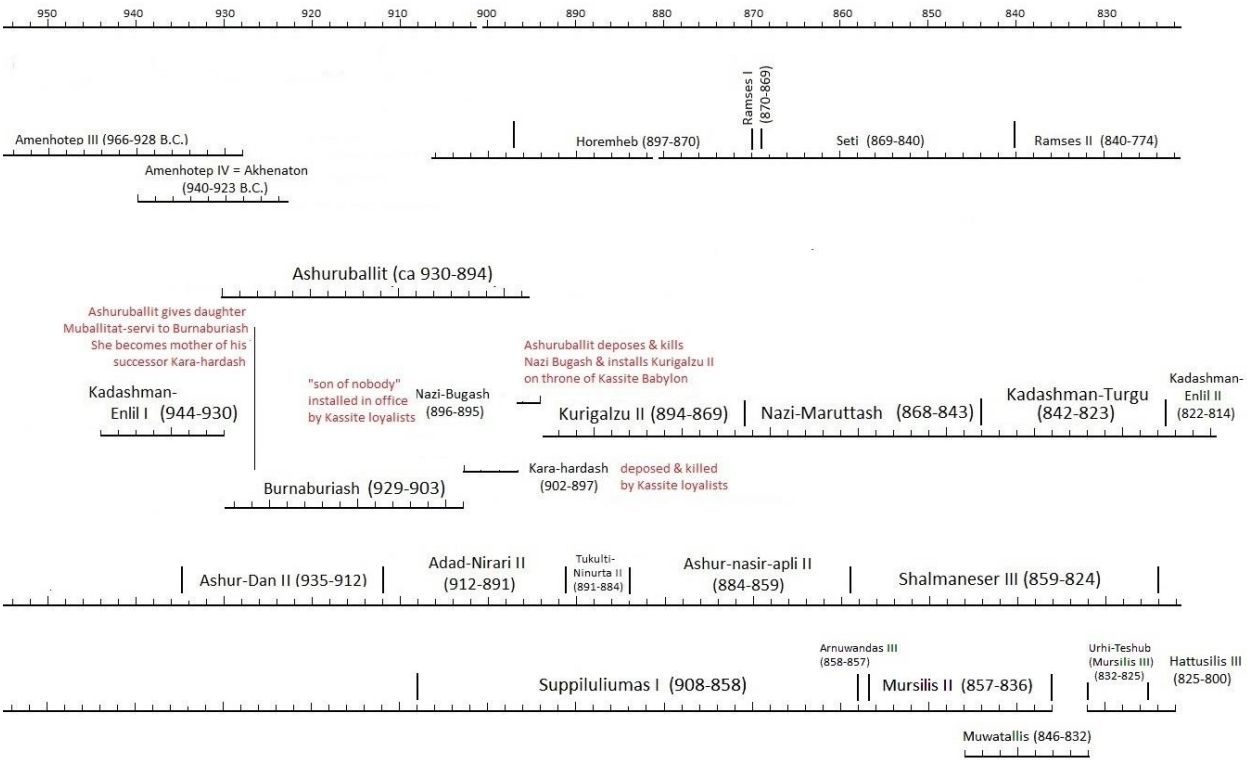
The result of this lowering of dates placed the reign of Kurigalzu in the time slot 894-869. Is it just a coincidence that this necessary modest lowering of dates for Kurigalzu positions this king's reign overlapping the last few years of the reign of Adad-Nirari II (912-891), the entire

seven year reign of his son Tukulti-Ninurta II (891-884), and the first fifteen years of Tukulti-Ninurta's son Ashurnasirpal II (884-859)?

Considering what we have recorded in the preceding paragraphs, the Chronicle P version of the "Ashuruballit History" appears on all counts to be an accurate and thus believable summary of the history of Assyria and Babylonia in the late 10th and early 9th centuries.

It is time to put all of this information in a time line, considering that "a picture is worth a thousand words." Note that we have maintained the names Kara-hardash and Nazi-Bugash from the Synchronistic History, simply because those are the names that appeared on our downloaded Kassite king list, and appear also in our Tables 4 & 5. The reader is advised to download and print this chart/timeline for future reference. It is a completely reliable record of the reigns of the kings of Egypt, Hatti, Assyria and Kassite Babylonia from the middle of the 10th century to the end of the 9th. At the end of this essay we will return to this chart once again in our discussion of synchronisms.

Figure 3: Timeline Showing the Reigns of the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia, from the year 950 B.C. to the year 800 B.C.



The Location and Function of Ashuruballit, king of the land of Ashur

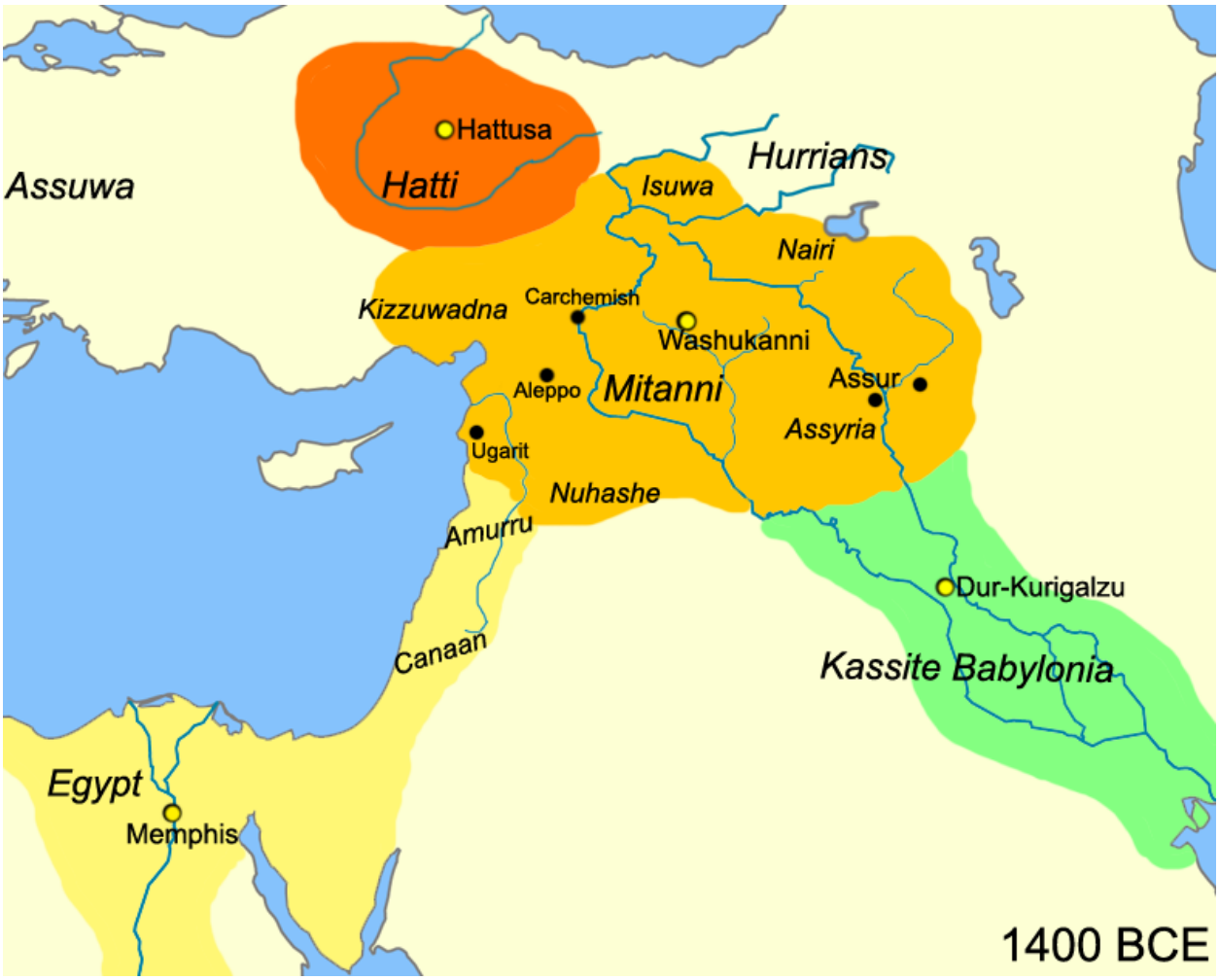
There remains for us one objective. We know from this timeline the approximate dates of the Amarna king Ashuruballit (930-894 B.C.). But these dates place him on the throne of Assyria at precisely the same time as Ashur-Dan II (935-912), the terminal king of the Assyrian Middle Period, and Adad-Nirari II (912-891), the first Neo-Assyrian king. How is it possible that Assyria has two kings during this time frame? And why is only one of them mentioned in the many king lists which include the Middle and Neo-Assyrian Periods? Both questions have a simple explanation, much of which has already been presented in our Volume 3 discussion of possible objections to our Displaced Dynasties chronology (see the section entitled "Aramean States" in chapter 4 of Volume 3, pp. 89-93). There we quoted Hugo Winckler from his book "The History of Babylonia and Assyria" (1911), p 127 where this early Assyrian scholar discussed the geo-political landscape that confronted the first three kings of the Neo-Assyrian Period, a situation which likely extended further back in time, at minimum through the reign of Ashur-Dan II. We repeat that quote here:

> Each of these three kings bore the titles "king of the world, king of Ashur," which henceforth were constantly assumed. Harran and Ashur are the chief cities of the two parts of the land. But one part is held entirely by an Aramean population who in the old cities caused the old population the same troubles that the Chaldeans prepared for the Babylonians, and it contained besides a number of Aramean cities whose princes seized every opportunity to strike for independence or even the reins of government. Near to Harran there stood an Aramean state, Bit-Adini …" (The History of Babylonia and Assyria (1911) p. 127)

We concluded in the end of our Volume 3 argument that Ashuruballit was an Assyrian "prince", domiciled in Harran, in the heart of the Aramean section of the country, whose function was to control the sometimes hostile Aramean population, and by virtue of his governance of that area of the country he adopted the title "king of Assyria". He was, in his own mind at least, "**a** king of Assyria" though not "**the** king of Assyria". The Mitanni were not mentioned in that section of Volume 3, though they were discussed briefly in the few pages following (see the Volume 3 discussion of the "Mitanni", pp 93-95). At the time I was not familiar with either the "Synchronistic History", nor the "Chronicle P" version of Assyrian history, and though I was aware that the Mitanni were a dominant force in the north of Syria, and in the extreme north of present day Iraq, I was not aware of one fact pertinent to our discussion of Ashuruballit. Sometime near the beginning of the 10th century B.C., Mitanni became so powerful a nation that it invaded and conquered Assyria. And it continued to govern Assyria as a vassal state throughout the 10th century, that domination ending only when Suppiluliuma drove the Mitanni from northern Syria and invaded and conquered its capital city Washuganni, on the upper Tigris River. The fact that Assyria was a vassal state during the 10th century is seldom mentioned by scholars today because the histories of all the Near Eastern nations which contribute to our knowledge of that fact - excepting, of course, that of the Assyrian kings themselves - have been displaced from their rightful 10th century context and moved back in time well over 400 years, where they have been used to create a geopolitical map of the 14th century. And even in the case of Assyria, data that ought to inform 10th century history, such as that contained in the Synchronistic history and the Chronicle P history, has been mistakenly applied to a 14th century context. As a result, if we want to know the geopolitical situation in Assyria in the 10th century B.C., we need to read the "scholarly" literature supposedly describing the 14th century B.C.

Below the reader will find a map of the Near East in the 14th century, furnished for us online at the Wikipedia site http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mitanni. In view of our discussion in the previous paragraph, we know that it actually describes the Near East in the 10th century B.C.

Figure 4: Map of the Near East as it existed in the 10th century B.C.
(not the beginning of the 14th century as advertised)



We have only one correction to make to the map shown in Figure 4. In view of the "Ashuruballit History", the territory controlled by Mitanni should include, at minimum, the northern part of Kassite Babylonia, including the city of Dur-Kurigalzu, the home city of the Kassite kings, located approximately 19 miles west of Baghdad. How else can we explain how Ashuruballit wielded such power that he was able to depose, kill, and install at will, the kings of

Kassite Babylon. Clearly he was acting as a representative of the Mitanni overlords, an opinion we detail in the following paragraph.

The Figure 4 map, and the details of the "Ashuruballit History", lead this author to slightly modify his previous understanding of Ashuruballit's office and function. We continue to stand by our opinion that his home base lay to the west of the Khabur River, the River which runs north to south, emptying into the Eupharates, and is located on the map in Figure 4 immediately to the right of the final "i" in the word Mitanni. This River divides Assyria into two parts, with Harran to the west, and Ashur to the east as the chief cities in those regions. Ashuruballit's home city was almost certainly Harran and part of his reason for being there was to ensure that the Arameans in the extreme west of Assyria were contained. So far, no change in our understanding from that expressed in Volume 3. But we no longer consider Ashuruballit to be an Assyrian prince subordinate to Ashur-Dan. Since Assyria in the days of Ashuruballit was a vassal state of the Mitanni, it is almost certain that this king functioned as a subordinate of Tushratta, the Mitanni king. He may well have been an Assyrian prince, but if so it is likely that he had ties to the Mitanni, probably through a marriage alliance. It may well be that Muballitat-sherua was a daughter by his Hurrian wife. Time alone will tell. In his Amarna letter EA16, addressed to Akhenaton, he is able to recall the specific amount of gold a contemporary Khanigalbatan (ie Mitanni) king had received from Amenhotep III.

> When my father, Ashur-nadin-ahe, ordered his messengers to go to Egypt, they sent him twenty gold talents. And when the king of Khanigalbat sent his messengers to your father [3] in Egypt, they sent twenty gold talents to him. See, to the king of Khanigalbat [4] I am ..., but to me you have sent only a little gold…

We wonder whence Ashuruballit received this knowledge if he was not somehow privy to the workings of the Mitanni kings. Regardless, Ashuruballit's army almost certainly functioned on behalf of Mitanni. It was probably extremely large, and composed of both Hurrian and Assyrian troops. And as a representative of the Mitanni overlords of Assyria (and the north of Kassite Babylonia?), Ashuruballit wielded extreme power.

There is no need to speculate on why Asheruballit's name is missing from the Assyrian king lists. He is a representative of the Mitanni, whose job was to control the Aramean area of Assyria. As was customary in the Ancient Near East, countries conquered by other nations usually retained their existing leadership, but governors and garrisons were set up by the conquerors, to ensure stability and monitor the collection of tribute. Those governors may well assign to themselves grandiose titles, but mention of their existence is studiously avoided in official local documents.

So record of the existence of Ashuruballit was rarely, if ever, produced in the conquered country, and only by chance was knowledge of his activity recorded by the Kassite Babylonians in the Chronicle P history, whence it was passed on to future generations thanks to the scribal activity sponsored by kings such as Ashurbanipal, writing centuries after the fact. We are most fortunate that this document was preserved, almost intact.

Synchronisms

I trust that the reader of this essay has grasped the significance of the discussion in the last 10 pages. For the first time our Displaced Dynasties chronology, at least from the 18th dynasty king Amenhotep III forward in time, has been *proven* accurate via a link to Assyrian history, particularly since this "link" is with Neo-Assyrian kings, whose dates are completely reliable according to 21st century scholars. The fact that the three Neo-Assyrian kings are synchronized with the Kassite Babylonian king Kurigalzu, and not directly with Egypt, cannot be used to argue against our claim that the whole of our Figure 3 is proven correct by that single synchronism. Those readers who have followed our reasoning in the preceding pages will know that our Figure 3 diagram accurately portrays the *relative* chronology of the kings of Kassite Babylon, of the Empire Hittites, and of Egypt beginning with the time of Amenhotep III, as they are presented in the traditional history. We could create a timeline extremely close to the 14th/13th century traditional timeline, that which is studiously followed in thousands of scholarly books and journal articles, by simply changing the numbers on the time scale at the top of the diagram, and of course the corresponding dates of each of the kings on the individual timelines. All regnal dates would have to be increased by approximately 435 years, including those of Ashuruballit. Only one major identity change would have to be made in the Figure 3 chart. The Assyrian timeline second from the bottom of the page would have to be deleted, Ashuruballit would have to be identified as Ashuruballit I, son of Eriba-Adad, the second king of the Assyrian Middle kingdom, and that king's timeline would have to be extended, filled with the names of all his known successors as found on our downloaded Assyrian king list.

It follows from the previous discussion that our kings Burnaburiash (grandfather of Kurigalzu II), his father Kadashman-Enlil II, Ashuruballit, (the Assyrian prince who served Mitanni overlords) and Suppiluliuma I (the first king of the Hittite Empire) , were the pharaohs named on the Amarna tablets. Additionally, since the Hittite Empire kings in our chart occupy the precise time frame scholars assigned to the neo-Hittites, we have proved our claim that the Neo-Hittites and the Empire Hittites are the same group of kings. Thus the synchronisms we proposed in our Volume 3, chapter 4, pp. 66-76, in a section entitled "Hittite Synchronisms with the 9th/8th Centuries" have all proved to be correct. Particularly pertinent is our former claim that the supposed "neo-Hittite" king Supalulme, encountered by Shalmanezer III in his first year raid on the Hatti land, was the Hittite Empire's first king Suppiluliumas I in the last year of his reign. This identity is yet another important one, featuring as it does an Assyrian king. Literally dozens of synchronisms named in the traditional history remain true in our Figure 3 diagram. Historians tell us that Seti I fought a battle against the Hittite king Muwatallis, that Muwatallis fought the "Battle of Kadesh" against Ramses II in that king's 5th year, that Ramses II signed a peace treaty with Hattusilis III in his 21st year, that in his 34th year Ramses II married one of the daughters of Hattusilis III, and Hattusilis is also known to have signed a treaty of alliance with Kadashman Turgu and corresponded with Kadashman-Enlil II. All of these synchronisms in the traditional history exist also in our Displaced Dynasties history, only now it has been confirmed that they took place in the 10th/ 9th centuries, not in the 14th/ 13th centuries.

Let the reader decide if we are right.

Paper #2: Babylonian Dynastic History – A late 10th to late 8th century outline. The beginning of a revision of Babylonian history.

This paper has three objectives, alphabetized below:

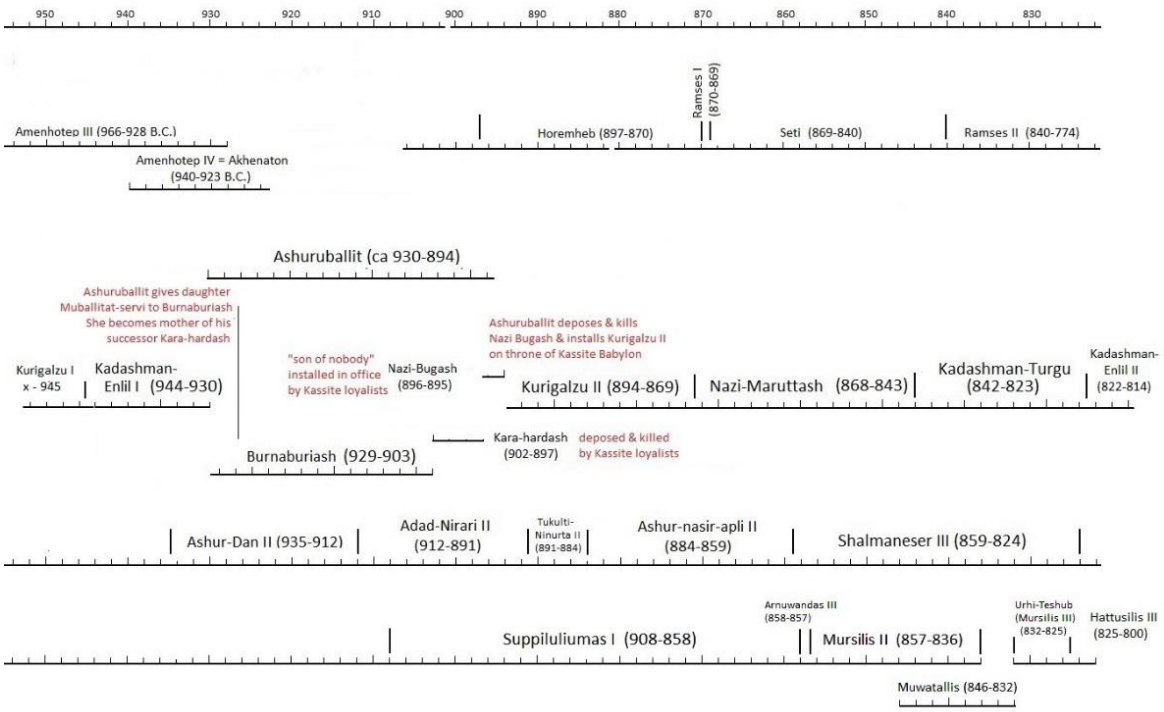
A) In our previous paper (#1) we claimed to have "proved" the existence of a "king of Assur" named Ashuruballit, "governing" the western half of Assyria around the year 930 B.C., precisely where and when we had previously conjectured his existence (i.e. in Volume three of our Displaced Dynasties series). The proof of the existence of our king Ashuruballit was derived via an analysis of two key documents, an Assyrian tablet (plus two fragments) entitled the "Synchronistic History" and a Babylonian tablet entitled "Chronicle P". Actually, the Synchronistic History was included primarily as a "foil", to contrast how the traditional history understands the "Ashuruballit incident" with the interpretation provided by the Chronicle P. Our proof of the existence of a 10th century Ashuruballit was derived entirely from the text of the Chronicle P. What we failed to do in that earlier paper, an omission we now intend to correct, is to explain how the Chronicle P, especially its 4th column, has been altered and misinterpreted by Assyriologists and ancient historians alike, so as to make this document conform to the traditional history. We began that process in our earlier analysis, but the issue needs to be raised again, this time with emphasis on the 4th column.

B) The analysis of the previous paper also resulted in a chart showing multiple timelines, one each for the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia from the year 950 B.C. to the year 800 B.C." (see Figure 3 on page 27 in the earlier paper). That chart, reproduced on the following page as our Figure 1, provided visual confirmation of close to a dozen synchronisms between these nations, which served to strengthen our claim to have correctly positioned the Amarna king Ashuruballit. It follows that the more we lengthen those timelines, the greater the assurance that our kings are correctly positioned. This paper therefore intends to begin this lengthening process by extending the four timelines forward through to the year 714 B.C., the year when the 3rd dynasty of Babylon ended.

C) Since ultimately we intend to rewrite Babylonian history back at least as far as the beginning of the 1st dynasty, we need to discuss the pros and cons of two important documents which feature prominently in all scholarly discussion relating to the history of ancient Babylon. We refer specifically to the "Babylonian King List A" and the "Assyrian Synchronistic Chronicle". Included in our discussion will be comment on changes that are currently taking place within the scholarly community on topics such as 'overlapping dynasties' and 'resident vs non-resident' Kassite kings. A concluding section begins the process of moving backward in time, by ignoring the immediate ancestors of Kadashman-Enlil I, and leapfrogging back in time to the beginning of the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty. Fortunately, thanks to the Babylonian King List A, we are able to identify, quite precisely, the date of the initial Kassite invasion of Babylonia, and provide reliable dates for the initial kings of the 3rd dynasty.

We meet these three objectives in the order listed.

Figure 1: 'Revised History' Timeline showing the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia in the time frame 950-800 B.C.
(Reproduced from Figure 3 on page 27 of Paper #1, with Kurigalzu 1 added)



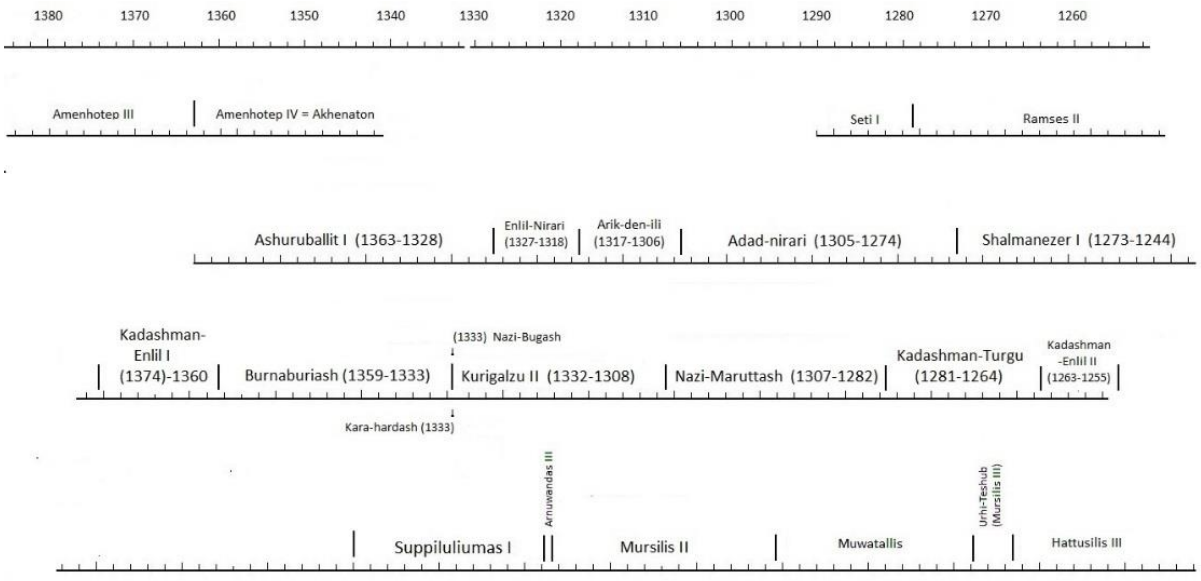
A. Analysis of the Synchronistic History and the Chronicle P by traditional historians.

The Figure 1 timeline shown above, which resulted from our analysis of the Chronicle P, has its counterpart in the traditional history, depicted on the following page as our Figure 2. As we explained in the earlier paper, the only change necessary to transform Figure 1 into Figure 2 was the increase of all dates on the Egyptian, Hittite, and Babylonian timelines by approximately 430 years, and the replacement of the $10^{th}/9^{th}$ century section of the Assyrian timeline with an earlier $14^{th}/13^{th}$ century section, this in order to synchronize the Assyrian timeline with the other altered timelines.

In altering our Figure 1 to produce Figure 2 we have made some cosmetic changes to the Egyptian timeline in order to more accurately represent the consensus view of 20^{th} and 21^{st} century Egyptologists. Thus we adjusted reign lengths slightly to reflect the current scholarly consensus that the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaton did not overlap, and that the reign

of Seti I was relatively short, certainly not the nearly 30 years we have assigned to this king. But we have left the relative chronology of the Hittite Empire intact, simply because there appears to be no scholarly consensus on when the reign of Suppiluliumas I began, nor how long it lasted, and because opinion varies on the reign lengths of several other Hittite kings. Regardless, these changes, or the lack of them, are really not at issue here. This paper is concerned only with the placement of the Kassite kings in relation to the Assyrian timeline.

Figure 2: Traditional History Timeline showing the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia in the time frame 1400-1250 B.C.



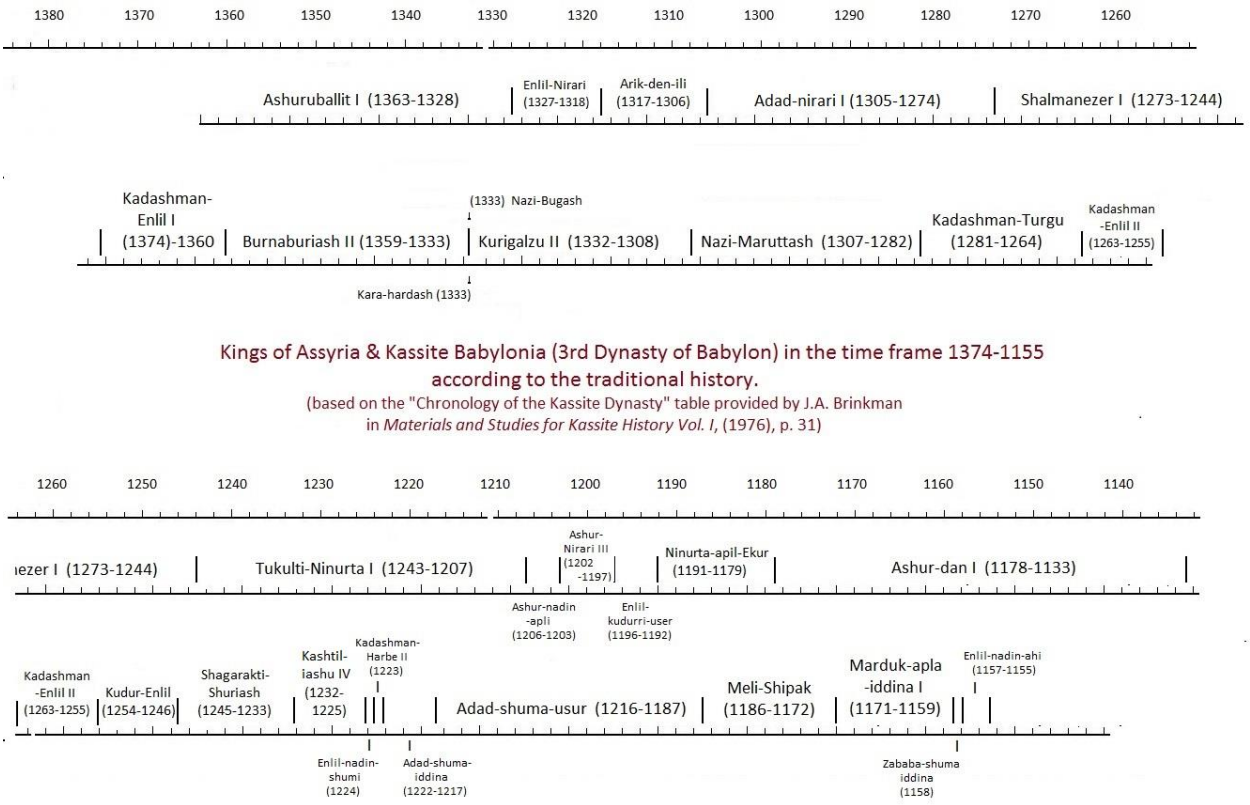
It is important that the reader understands the significance of the Figure 2 chart. It represents how 20th and 21st century scholars conceive the history of the Ancient Near East as that history unfolded in the 14th - mid-12th centuries B.C. Thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of books and journal articles have been written outlining this history, making minute changes to these timelines, analyzing in excruciating detail every newly discovered tablet, or inscribed artifact, but always interpreting these discoveries in relation to this basic temporal framework. To these scholars even minor changes in this outline are met with extreme skepticism and fierce debate. The notion that three of the four timelines depicted are in error by well over 400 years would not even be entertained. We understand this mindset completely.

When we suggest, as we did in our 3rd paper, that the Babylonian history is “out of synch” with the Assyrian timeline by roughly 430 years, an opinion based entirely on our interpretation of the Chronicle P, we are not surprised that Assyrian scholars have altered that document in order to maintain their Figure 2 conception of history. Our 10th century positioning of Ashuruballit would never have been entertained, even as a passing thought. But since these

same scholars write the textbooks, and fill the internet with their biased interpretation of Babylonian history, we sense the need to at least inform our readers precisely how they have interpreted the 4th column of the Chronicle P, the key section of that document. It is absolutely incredible how often the Chronicle P is cited in support of the traditional Assyrian history, especially considering the fact that not a single name of an Assyrian king in the entire document is consistent with that history.

Since the following discussion is entirely related to the Assyrian and Babylonia timelines in our Figure 2, we reproduce just those two timelines in greater detail in yet a third figure (our Figure 3 below), extending them in this instance to include the eleven Kassite kings who follow Kadashman-Enlil II, thus paving the way for meeting the second of our three objectives.

Figure 3: The Kassite kings of the 3rd dynasty of Babylon in the time frame 1400-1155 B.C.



As suggested above, this diagram will serve multiple purposes, including acting as a springboard to our later discussion of the 8th century Kassite kings. However, in this section its primary purpose is to illustrate the flawed interpretation of the "Chronicle P" history at the hands of 20th and 21st century scholars, a discussion necessary as an adjunct to the positive interpretation of that document provided in our third paper. Later still the Figure 3 will serve

to assist our discussion of the "Babylonian King List A" and the "Assyrian Synchronistic History" and the related description of the process by which the Babylonian history of the Kassite kings has become displaced in time by well over four hundred years. And in that final section as well, we will use this same diagram, minus the names of the Kassite kings, all of whom are wrongly positioned in this time frame, as a template on which to begin reconstructing the first 150 years of the Kassite Dynasty.

Having said all that, we turn our attention to the relevant lines of the Chronicle P, itemized below in our Table 1. We have highlighted the key names.

Table 1: Relevant lines of the Chronicle P

Column 1 (lines 5-14)
5' Kadašman-harbe, son of Karaindaš, son of Muballitat-serua,
6' the daughter of Aššur-uballit,[1] king of Assyria, ordered[7] the overthrow of the Suteans
7' from the east to west, and annihilated their extensive forces.
8' He reinforced the fortresses in Mount Šaršar.[2] He dug wells and
9' settled people on fertile lands to strengthen the guard. Afterwards
10' the Kassite people rebelled against him and killed him. Šuzigaš, a Kassite,
11' the son of a nobody,[3] they appointed as sovereign over them. Aššur-uballit,
12' king of Assyria, marched to Karduniaš[13], to avenge Kadašman-harbe, his daughter's son, and
13' Šuzigaš, the Kassite,
14' he killed. Aššur-uballit put Kurigalzu, son of Kadašman-harbe, on his father's throne.

End of Column 3 (lines 20-24)

20' He went to conquer **Adad-nirari**, king of Assyria.
21' He did battle against him at Sugaga, which is on the Tigris, and brought about his defeat.
22' He slaughtered his soldiers and captured his officers.

23' Nazi-maruttaš, son of [...] [2]
24' king of Assyria in [...].
Lacuna

Beginning of Column 4 (lines 1-11)
1' [...]
2' [...] he threw iron bands and [...] [3]
3' [...] **Tukulti-Ninurta** returned to Babylon and
4' brought [...] near. He destroyed the wall of Babylon and put[5] the Babylonians to the sword.
5' He took out the property of the Esagila and Babylon amid the booty. The statue of the great lord Marduk
6' he removed from his dwelling-place and sent him to Assyria.
7' He put his governors[6] in Karduniaš. For seven years, Tukulti-Ninurta
8' controlled Karduniaš[7]. After the Akkadian officers of Karduniaš had rebelled and
9' put Adad-šuma-ušur on his father's throne,
10' **Aššur-nasir-apli**, son of that Tukulti-Ninurta who had[9] carried criminal designs against Babylon, and the officers of Assyria rebelled against Tukulti-Ninurta,
11' removed him from the throne, shut him up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and killed him.

We do not intend to repeat our previous analysis of this document, that which led to our $10^{th}/9^{th}$ century positioning of these events. The reader can peruse our third paper to evaluate the argument. Nor do we intend to reference the Synchronistic History again, a document

which we readily admit is absolutely consistent with the traditional history depicted in Figure 3. In our final section we will explain what circumstances led to the creation of this document, and why it should be ignored. Our intent here is narrowly focused on how the traditional history has treated the text of the Chronicle P and "turned a blind eye" to the multiple problems that accompany its interpretation, all in order to defend a grossly distorted timeline for Egypt, Hatti and Babylonia.

The relevant Chronicle P text appears to feature just two military battles, one pitting Kurigalzu II against an Assyrian king Adad-nirari, and a second one featuring Nazi-Maruttash fighting against a king Tukulti-Ninurta, who is ultimately assassinated by his son and successor Ashur-nasir-apli (Ashurnasirpal). A quick glance at our Figure 3 leaves us perplexed. In our Figure 3 there is no king Adad-nirari contemporary with Kurigalzu II, and there is no king Tukulti-Ninurta opposite Nazi-Marrutash. The first difficulty was dealt with efficiently by scholars. The name of Adad-nirari was simply changed to Enlil-nirari. The second difficulty was more problematic. The solution was to assume that the description of the battle which features Nazi-Maruttash, which occupies eight lines of text in the Synchronistic History narrative, is over and done with in the two damaged lines at the end of the 3rd column. By the time the cuneiform text becomes legible in the second line of the 4th column, an entirely new battle has been engaged and won by Tukulti-Ninurta. The typical four or five line introduction to such battles has apparently been contained in a single line, unfortunately illegible, and someone, presumably the unknown opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta, has been defeated, taken captive, and put in irons. The balance of the 4th column, which is almost wholly intact, takes up the story of Tukulti-Ninurta, his follow-up attack on the city of Babylon, the symbolic removal of the statue of Marduk, the seven year governance of Babylonia, a rebellion led by his son Ashurbanipal, followed by Tukulti-Ninurta's arrest, incarceration, and summary execution. There the story ends.

Four questions immediately surface. 1) Who is the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta, father of Ashurnasirpal, who stars in this new vignette? 2) And who was his opponent? 3) How does this document condense an 8 line story about a battle fought by Nazi-Maruttash into two lines of text (column 3, lines 23, 24)? and 4) How does this document confine the battle between Tukulti-Ninurta and his unknown opponent, including the introduction of the participants, the location of the battle, the outcome of the battle and the capture of the Babylonian opponent, data which normally occupies four or five lines of text, into a single line? We answer these four questions in the order cited, and use the opportunity to voice our objections.

Question 1: The answer to the first question is predictable. Only two Assyrian kings named Tukulti-Ninurta are known to history - Tukulti-Ninurta I who ruled Assyria in the years 1243-1207 B.C. and was succeeded by a son named Ashur-nadin-apli, and Tukulti-Ninurta II, who ruled Assyria in the years 891-894 and was succeeded by a son named Ashur-nasir-apli (Ashurnasirpal). Of the two possibilities only Tukulti-Ninurta II had a son and successor with the correct name. Unfortunately that king could not even be considered by scholars. His name is not even mentioned in the literature related to the Chronicle P. We are not surprised. If any

scholar were to suggest that the 4th column is referencing Tukulti-Ninurta II he/she would be ostracized by the academic community. As we have already shown, interpreting the Chronicle P at face value immediately causes the timelines of Babylonia, Hatti, and Egypt to implode. 14th-12th century events must move to the 10th-8th centuries. Tens of thousands of books and journal articles become instantly obsolete, careers and reputations are destroyed, damaged, or at minimum depreciated, not to mention the scores of bruised egos in the academic world. Even if the Chronicle P text had additionally referred to Tukulti-Ninurta as the son of Adad-Nirari and the grandson of Ashur-Dan, scholars would find a way to discount the evidence. The traditional history is a sacred cow. It must not be tampered with. Consequently, 20th century scholars simply changed the name of Tukulti-Ninurta's son from Ashur-nasir-apli to Ashur-nadin-apli. After all, the two names resemble each other, at least in English translation, though not so much in the Assyrian cuneiform text.

The identification of the Tukulti-Ninurta named in the 4th column of the Chronicle P as Tukulti-Ninurta I has not come without cost. Not only were two name changes made to the Chronicle P text, a procedure which does not instill confidence in the integrity of the community of scholars who made them and continue to defend them, but now the Chronicle P material is out of order. These ancient Chronicles *always* arrange their materials so that the older vignettes precede the accounts of incidents that are more recent. But now, were we to scan further down in the 4th column of the Chronicle P we would read about two invasions of Babylonia by an Elamite king named Kidin-Hutran, who was powerful enough to depose two Babylonian kings, Enlil-nadin-shumi (1224) and Adad-shuma-iddina (1222-1217), both contemporary with Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). But the 4th column text has already recounted the death of Tukulti-Ninurta I in 1207 B.C., and now the Chronicler is back-tracking at least a decade. This deviation from custom might not upset the readers of this paper, but it has provoked comment from several Assyriologists.

To make matters worse, momentarily we will comment on the fact that scholars have identified the unnamed opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta in the column 4 battle as king Kashtiliashu IV, whose reign ended in the year 1225 B.C. A glance at the timelines in our Figure 3 (see page 4 above) informs us that three kings bearing the names Enlil-nadin-shumi , Kadashman-Herbe, and Adad-shuma-iddina, two of whom were mentioned in the previous paragraph, were ruling Babylonia throughout the seven year stretch following the demise of Kashtiliashu IV, thus during in which Tukulti-Ninurta I was supposedly ruling Babylonia, not through local kings, but through proxy governors. Assyrian scholars have spent ages, and filled volumes of journals with articles, attempting to reason out what precisely is happening. They are somewhat comforted by the fact that the three kings, who don't seem to "fit in" chronologically, were succeeded by a king Adad-shuma-usur, who ruled Babylonia for 30 years (1216-1187). The timing is close to correct since this king begins his reign only 9 years after Tukulti-Ninurta (supposedly) defeated Kashtiliashu. He is therefore identified as the Adad-shuma-usur who, according to the 4th column of the Chronicle P, was placed on the throne in the southern part of Babylonia at the very end of Tukulti-Ninurta's seven year domination of that country. But not only is the

beginning of the reign of Adad-shuma-usur two years too late, since the seven year governance of Babylonia by Tukulti-Ninurta I must have ended in 1218 (= 1225 – 7), but once again we have a problem with the sequencing of names, even more severe than that described in the previous paragraph. The ascendancy of Adad-shuma-usur is recounted in verse 9 of column 4 (see Table I on page 5). The naming of Enlil-nadin-shumi and Adad-shuma-iddina as kings deposed by the Elamite king Kidin-Hutran is described later in the 4th column, on lines 14 and 16 respectively. A dividing line is added to the cuneiform tablet between the between the two sets of names (see discussion of these dividing lines on page 11 below) indicating conclusively that the Adad-shuma-usur incident took place prior to the Elamite invasion of Kidin-Hutran. Thus the beginning of the reign of Adad-shuma-usur must precede, not follow, the reigns of the other three named kings There is no escaping this conclusion if convention is being followed. And how is it, we enquire further, that all the while that Tukulti-Ninurta I is supposedly governing Babylonia through proxies, that two successful Elamite invasions of the country take place successfully and without reprisal? The idea is beyond the comprehension of this author. And these are but a few of the chronological enigmas that have resulted from the identification of the column 4 king as Tukulti-Ninurta I.

All these difficulties and more will disappear once it is admitted that the first dozen verses of the 4th column of the Chronicle P is talking about a war between the 9th century king Nazi-Maruttash (at the time leading the army on behalf of Kuigalzu II, and possibly co-ruler with that king) and Tukulti-Ninurta II. Once the 13th century Kassite kings, supposedly contemporary with Tukulti-Ninurta I, are removed 440 years into the future, all of the conflicts will disappear. The Tukulti-Ninurta II battle with Nazi-Maruttash took place in the first half of the 9th century B.C. The kings Kashtiliashu IV, Enlil-nadin-shumi, Kadashman-Herbe, and Adad-shuma-usur ruled in succession in the middle of the 8th century B.C. There exists a gap of over a century between the end of the Tukulti-Ninurta dialogue in verse 13 and the beginning of the Kidin-Hutrin invasion accounts in verses 14-16 of the 4th column of the Chronicle P. It is strange how problems disappear when kings are restored to their proper historical context.

Question 2: And who do scholars identify as the opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta I? Out of necessity we have already supplied the answer, but the question was easily answered in antiquity and 20th and 21st century scholars have never been in doubt. The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, a voluminous literary composition, by far the largest literary document in the Assyrian archives, describes a lengthy battle between an Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta and a Babylonian opponent named Kashtiliashu. And in our Figure 3 the reign of Kashtiliashu IV (1232-1225) lies squarely in the middle of the 36 year reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). Besides, other Assyrian documents, including fragment C of the Synchronistic History, which contains the first two lines of column 2 of that document, mentions this very same conflict, or at least it gives that appearance until we read the footnote.

> C1'* [Tukulti-Ninurta, king of Assyria, and] Kashtiliasu, king of Karduniash [6]
> C2'* […] in open battle.

Note 6: Only the name Kaštiliašu (1222-1215) is legible. The name of his opponent is a conjecture, and the identification with the fourth king called Kaštiliašu is hypothetical

Clearly the mere mention in an Assyrian or Babylonian document of the name of either Kashtiliashu or Tukulti-Ninurta doing battle is sufficient to conjure up memories of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic in the minds of scribes and scholars alike, and the name of the missing party will automatically be assumed.

It follows from the dates of the two kings that Tukulti-Ninurta I must have defeated Kashtiliashu IV and captured Babylon several decades after the beginning of his reign. But the only existing evidence that a king Tukulti-Ninurta was ever in control of Babylon is an economic text dated to the accession year of an Assyrian king bearing that name. That document, in and of itself, all but proves that Tukulti-Ninurta I is not the king named in column 4 of the Chronicle P. And how do scholars respond to that evidence? They cite the existence of the text, and make no further comment.

The accession year document referred to in the previous paragraph actually supports the claim made in our previous paper, that the Chronicle P invasion of Babylon took place shortly after the beginning of the reign of the Tukulti-Ninurta named in that document, and that, in view of his assassination seven years later, the Chronicle P king only reigned in Assyria for seven years. Contrast that evidence with the known fact that Tukulti-Ninurta I ruled Assyria for 37 years and we should rest our case. But give scholars credit. They do have the semblance of an answer. According to them the incarceration of Tukulti-Ninurta in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta - as recorded in column 4, line 11 - lasted for many years. But there is no evidence that this was the case, and the plain reading of the column 4 text, added to a dose of common sense, would seem to argue that his assassination followed on the heels of his incarceration. Let the reader decide. And why, we ask, would a lengthy incarceration add to his regnal year total. Did he rule Assyria from prison?

And we enquire further, does the existence of a "Tukulti-Ninurta Epic" recording a conflict between a king Tukulti-Ninurta and a king Kashtiliashu, necessarily argue that the king Tukulti-Ninurta I fought a battle against the king Kashtiliashu IV, thereby providing scholars with an antecedent invasion to explain the Chronicle P incident. Kashtiliashu IV only appears in the Figure 3 diagram opposite Tukulti-Ninurta 1 *because* scholars have *assumed* that the Ashuruballit in the column one narrative of the Chronicle P is the Assyrian king Ashuruballit I, son of Eriba-Adad. If that assumption is incorrect, and we assume instead that the column one Ashuruballit is our late 10th century Ashuruballit, then Kashtiliashu IV will disappear from the Figure 3 timeline. In fact all of the Babylonian kings named in our Figure 3 will march forward 430 years into the future, where the kings from Kadashman-Enlil I to Kadashman-Enlil II will reappear as in our Figure 1 timeline, and their eleven successors, from Kudur-Enlil to Enlil-nadin-ahi, including Kashtiliashu IV and his three successors Enlil-nadin-shumi, Kadashman-Harbe, and Adad-shuma-iddina, will fill an 8th century Kassite dynasty timeline. And as we will demonstrate in the concluding section of this paper, the Babylonian timeline in the Figure 3

diagram will be filled with new occupants, one of which, a king named Kashtiliashu II (or less likely Kashtiliashu III), will occupy a position contemporary with Tukulti-Ninurta I

Questions 3 & 4: For the sake of the reader, let me repeat the questions. Earlier we asked concerning the columns 3 and 4 of the Chronicle P:

> 3) How does this document condense an 8 line story about a battle fought by Nazi-Maruttash into two lines of text (column 3, lines 23, 24)? and 4) How does this document confine the battle between Tukulti-Ninurta and his unknown opponent, including the introduction of the participants, the location of the battle, the outcome of the battle and the capture of the Babylonian opponent, data which normally occupies four or five lines of text (at minimum), into a single line?

On both questions our answer can be brief. There is not the slightest chance that the Nazi-Murattash incident could be concluded in two lines of text, nor that an *alleged* battle between Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kashtiliash IV, complete with outcome, could be introduced in a single line (column 4, line 1), now missing. This proposal is not scholarship, it is pure sophisty.

We have produced on the next page, as our Figures 4 and 5, a photo and a line drawing of the cuneiform text of the two columns in question, both available online. The British Museum photo of the Reverse of the Chronicle P tablet is available here, and the line art of the Assyrian cuneiform text of all four columns, originally published by Hugo Winckler, "Text der Chronik P", *Altorientalische Forschungen* (1895), pp. 297-303, is available here.

It seems incredible to this author that the scenario described above was ever proposed. When we read the Chronicle P translation of the last two lines of column 3 and the initial line of column 4 (see above, Table 1 on p. 5), and hear the proposal by scholars that these three lines are all that remains of the description of two major battles, one fought in the 14th century and one in the 13th century B.C., we were highly skeptical, but were put off by the indication that there was a LACUNA at the end of the 3rd column, indication that a large section of the tablet was missing. But fortune smiles, and we were able to find online photos of BM 92701, and were doubly blessed to find Hugo Winkler's line drawings of the cuneiform text.

Needless to say we looked in vain for the promised lacuna. There are indeed many damaged lines of text in both columns, but in the estimation of this author there are no missing lines. In the middle of the reverse of the tablet, that which contains both the 3rd and 4th columns of the Chronicle P, remnants of all the original lines cuneiform text are visible from the top to the bottom of the tablet. There is no indication that portions of the tablet below column three or above column 4 have broken off. That suggestion appears to be "wishful thinking" on the part of scholars, who of necessity cannot tolerate the suggestion that Nazi-Maruttash, son of the Babylonian king Kurigalzu II, and an Assyrian king named Tukulti-Ninurta, are contemporaries and are engaged in battle with one another.

Figure 4: Photo of Columns 3 & 4 on the Reverse of BM 92701 (Chronicle P)

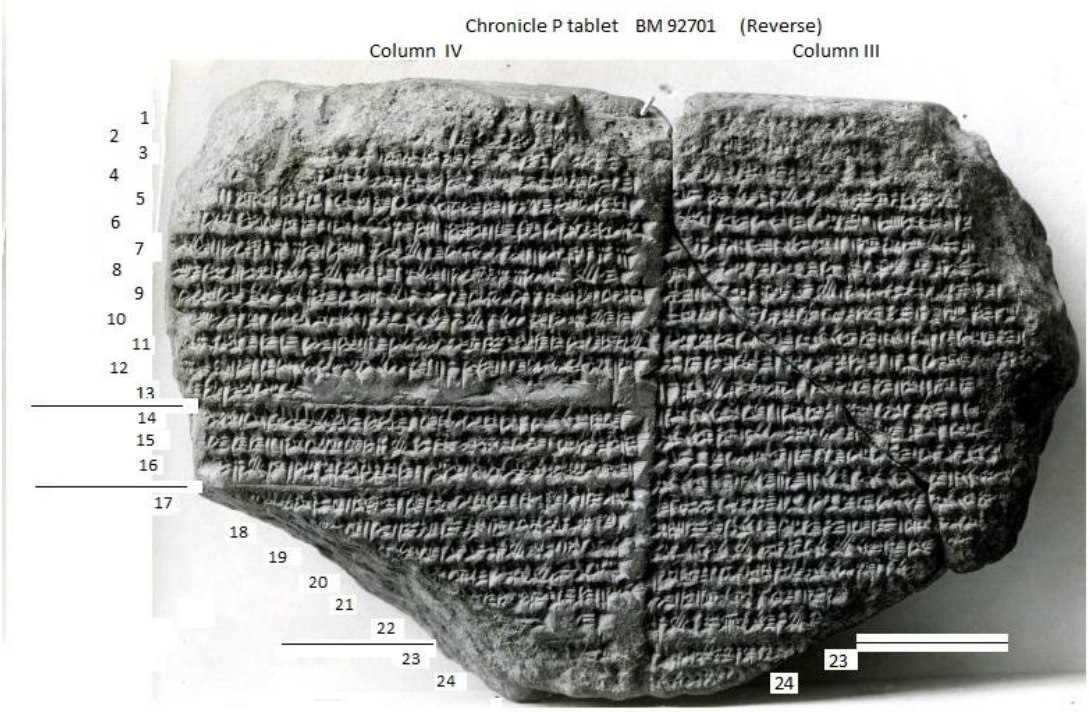
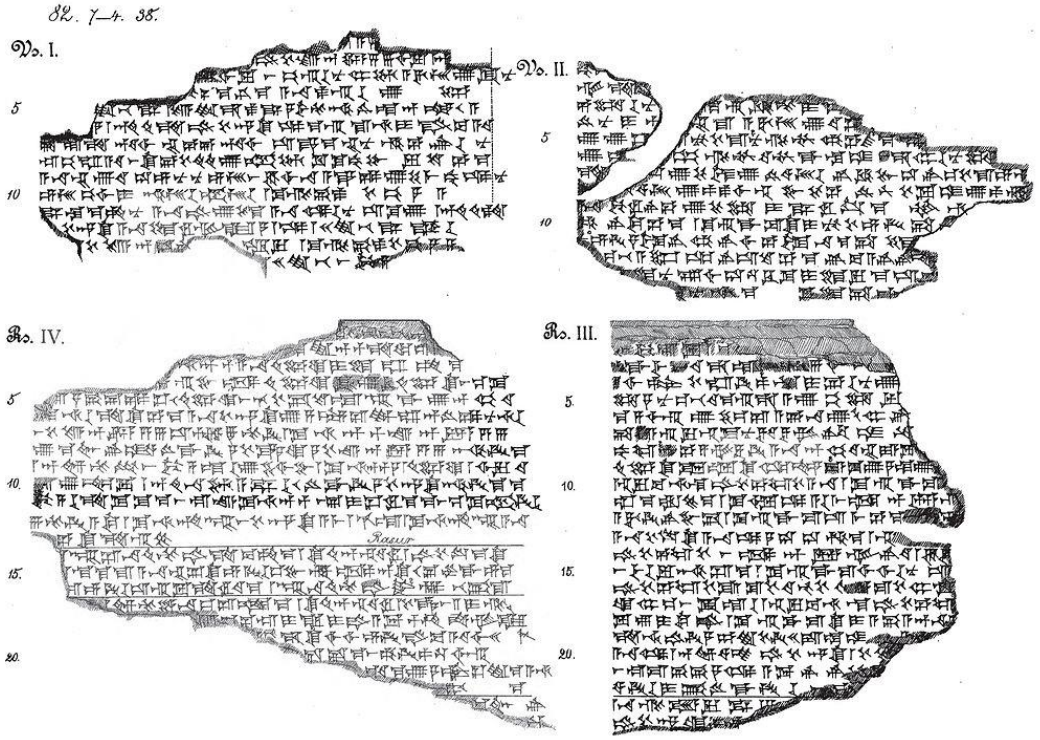


Figure 5: Hugo Winkler's line art diagram of the cuneiform text of all four columns of the Chronicle P tablet, BM 92701.



Assuming that there is no lacuna in the text, there is clear indication that the entire narrative, beginning with the 23rd line of the 3rd column and ending with the 13th verse of the 4th column, is one complete vignette, not two. And since that single narrative names the Babylonian Nazi-Maruttash and the Assyrian Tukulti-Ninurta, these must be the participants in the conflict. The evidence is found in the narrative dividers, horizontal lines produced by the stylus of the scribe to separate the distinct narratives in his composition. Both on the tablet itself, and on Hugo Winkler's line drawing, these lines are clearly visible, and I have edited the tablet photo by numbering the lines and inserting a horizontal stroke in the margin to indicate where the narrative dividers are to be seen on the photo. One is present just before line 23 of column 3 and one is present between lines 13 and 14 of column 4. Hugo Winkler, who examined the actual tablet, could see no dividing line after line 24 of column 3, even though the text of line 24 in places extends to the bottom of the tablet. The entire Nazi-Maruttash/ Tukulti-Ninurta II incident occupies 15 lines of text.

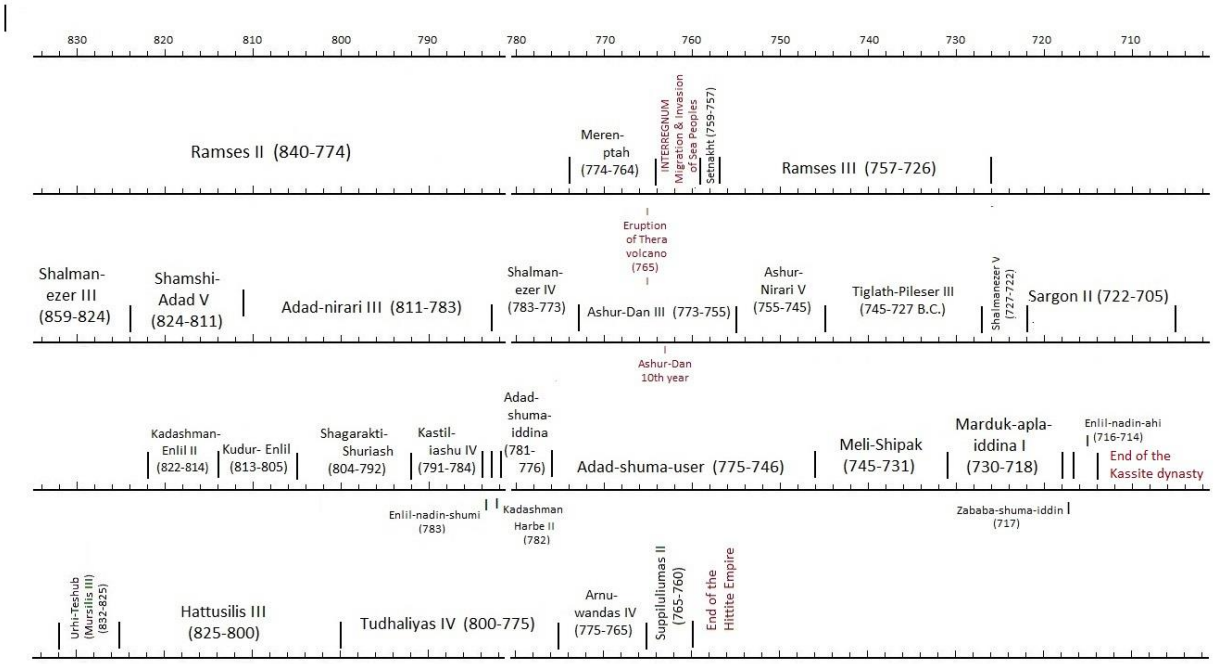
We now move on to the B section of this paper. In sports, as the adage goes, the best offense is a good defense. In papers such as this, the reverse is true. The best defense is a good offense. Rather than fill volumes arguing against the 14th-12th century positioning of our mid to late Kassite kings, we choose instead to prove that these kings belong to the 10th-8th centuries. We have already begun the process by positioning the Kassite kings Kadashman-Enlil I through to Kadashman-Enlil II in our previous paper. We now reposition the eleven successors of Kadashman-Enlil II and spend some time proving that they belong to the 8th century.

B. Kassite Successors of Kadashman-Enlil II Moved to the 8th century.

When we bagan our analysis of Babylonian history less than a month ago, we mistakenly thought that the 36 kings who are presumed to belong to the 3rd dynasty of Babylon were positioned as they were via two sources, some because archaeologists have unearthed the actual treaty documents and correspondence which link them to specific Egyptian or Hittite kings, and some because they are conclusively linked to specific Assyrian kings in the 2nd millenium, where these Kassite kings are said to have lived. The Kassite kings belonging to the first subgroup not only could, but must be moved, in order to maintain that synchronism, no matter where their contemporary Egyptian and/or Hittite kings were re-positioned. On the other hand, Kassite kings belonging to the second subgroup must be left in their 2nd millenium context, contemporary with their Assyrian counterparts. While that analysis was logical, it was mistaken, largely because this author had not bothered to look at a single document related to specific Babylonian kings, other than the Synchronistic History (ABC 20) and the Chronicle P (ABC 21). After all, we were looking for a 10th century Ashuruballit. We had absolutely no intention of beginning a restructuring of Babylonian dynastic history. But since our analysis of the Chronicle P convinced us that the Kassite king Burnaburiash II must be dated in the late 10th century, and that his immedite predecessors and successors fit perfectly in the 10th/9th century of our revised history, thus opening a "can of worms" so to speak, we began, in earnest, an "in depth" investigation of Babylonian history. And the first document we examined, the Babylonian King List A, convinced this author, and will assuredly convince all readers of this paper once we discuss that king list in the next secion of this paper, that moving one Kassite king forward in time, whatever the number of years, implies that all the Kassite kings must move forward in time by that same amount. The Babylonian time line is not a construct that has been tampered with by modern historians. It was constructed in antiquity as carefully as was the Assyrian timeline, and like the Assyrian king lists, has been left intact and followed dutifully by modern scholars. It differs from the Assyrian timeline in only one respect. The Assyrian timeline was provided with anchor points that allowed the relative dating of the Assyrian kings to be transformed into absolute dates, largely via synchronisms with the firmly dated kings of Israel. By the end of this section, at long last, we will also have established a link between the Kassite timeline and the kings of Israel.

It is time to move the eleven Kassite kings from Kudur-Enlil to Enlil-nadin-ahi to their rightful place in history, filling the 100 year interval between the death of Kadashman-Enlil II and the end of the 3rd dynasty of Babylon. The result is diagrammed below in our Figure 6.

Figure 6: Revised History Timeline showing the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia in the time frame 814-714 B.C.



To arrive at the dates for the successors of Kadashman-Enlil II (822-814), we simply started with his dates from our Figure 1, and used the reign length numbers for his descendents as recorded on the Babylonian King List A to move forward in time to the end of the dynasty. In only one instance did we alter the numbers of the King List A. Following Brinkman we increased the reign length of Kudur-Enlil from 6 to 9 years. Now, with our Kassite kings firmly entrenched in their 8th century context, we look for synchronisms that will confirm that they have been correctly positioned. And where else to begin than with our problematic Adad-shuma-usur, whose dates are now 775-746 B.C.

Adad-shuma-user (775-731)

According to the Wikipedia article cited below, "there is surprisingly little contemporary evidence for this king considering the purported length of his reign, which was the longest recorded in the Kassite dynasty." The article goes on to discuss this king's relationship to the 13th century king Tukulti-Ninurta I, this from the point of view of the traditional history. Thus it assumes the accuracy of the errant Chronicle P, 4th column history followed religiously by all 21st century scholars. We have finished arguing against that interpretation. But we read in the article two informative paragraphs which are relevant to our 8th century B.C. positioning of Adad-shuma-user, and which, therefore, we need to read in their entirety.

The first paragraph concerns a letter, purportedly written by the 13th century Tukulti-Ninurta to a Hittite king. Needless to say, we will argue against that assumed authorship, but first let us quote the paragraph.

> Tukulti-Ninurta wrote a letter to the Hittite king, thought to be Suppiluliuma II, four fragments of which were discovered at the site of excavations of Hattusha in the 1930's. It was dated in the limmu year of Ili-pada, in the latter part of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign. In it, he recaps the genealogy of the recent Kassite dynasty, mentioning Kurigalzu II, Kadashman-Enlil II, and Kudur-Enlil, then apparently castigating Shagarakti-Shuriash, the "non-son of Kudur-Enlil", and his sons, one of whom, Kashtiliashu, had provoked the war by his dastardly pre-emptive strike against Assyria. In one place, the sons of Shagarakti-Shuriash have been killed, almost certainly by none other than Tukulti-Ninurta himself. He then makes reference to a "servant of Suhi", where Suhu is a region of northeast Syria, and Itamar Singer proposes this individual to be Adad-Shuma-usur, the implication being he was a foreigner, not of the royal stock and consequently unqualified for office.

While we quote the letter here, we leave its analysis to the next subsection, when we look for synchronisms in the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash. We make only one comment in passing. The letter being referenced in the above paragraph was not written by the 13th century king Tukulti-Ninurta. The name of Tukulti-Ninurta appears nowhere in the letter. It was authored and signed by an 8th century Assyrian king named Ili-pada, whom we meet again in the next paragraph. The occurrence of his name is the only reason we mention the letter here.

The second Wikipedia paragraph (actually three paragraphs) of interest concerns yet another letter, this one authored by Adad-shuma-user himself. Once again we are forced to endure references to the Chronicle P column 4 incident, wrongly interpreted, before the Wikipedia author mentions the letter.

> Tukulti-Ninurta, who "carried criminal designs against Babylon", was succeeded by his son and possible assassin Ashur-nadin-apli, but whose brief reign was succeeded in turn by his son, Ashur-nirari III. He was the recipient of an extremely offensive letter from Adad-shuma-user, which he addressed to "the Assyrian kings," putting Ashur-nirari on an equal footing with his subordinate for added insult, a fragment of which has fortuitously survived:
>
> [The god Ash]ur to Assur-nirari and Ili-Hadda [… through] slovenliness, drunkenness, and indecisiveness, things have taken a turn for the worse for you. Now there is neither sense nor reason in your heads. Since the great [gods] have driven you mad you speak […]. Your faces […..with] iniquitous and criminal counsel
>
> - Adad-shuma-usur, letter to Ashur-nirari and Ili-Hadda.
>
> The Ili-hadda mentioned is none other than Ili-pada, the viceroy of Hanigalbat, Ashur-nirari's distant relative (sharing a common ancestor in Eriba-Adad I) and the official for whose limmu year Tukulti-Ninurta's letter to the Hittite king had been dated. The letter was carefully copied and preserved in the library at Nineveh. Grayson speculates it was kept to "goad" the Assyrians to vengeance.

We introduce this letter for three reasons, which we itemize and discuss in order:

1) Initially we simply want to use this article to caution the reader. These paragraphs are typical of what the researcher will encounter when reading an article related to ancient history on the internet or in textbooks. It is filled with statements which are a mixture of fact and fiction, and the uncritical reader will often not be able to distinguish which is which without digging deeper into the material. For example, the initial sentence is factually correct, providing we disregard the comments about the "criminal designs" of Tukulti-Ninurta I, and the possibility that he was assassinated by his son Ashur-nadin-apli. Those comments stem from a faulty interpretation of

the 4th column of the Chronicle P. The second sentence is correct providing we omit the identification of the Ashur-Nirari to whom the letter was sent. We argue that it was Ashur-Nirari V, not III. The letter itself, together with its signature, are simply matters of fact and are presumed to be accurate, though absolutely nothing should be taken for granted. The first sentence in the final paragraph is accurate except for two items. Ili-pada may have been related to the Ashur-Nirari who received this letter, but there is absolutely no evidence that this was the case. As we will show momentarily, and as the author of this Wikipedia article is well aware, this letter was written by an official named Ili-pada whose father's name was Ashur-iddin and whose grandfather's name was Qibi-Ashur. And we argue that the letter was written in the 8th century B.C. There did exist another Ili-pada in the 12th century who was either a "son", or a "descendent" of "Eriba-Adad" (who may or may not have been the father of the king Ashuruballit I, and to whom Ashur-Nirari III may or may not have been related). But the two officials named Ili-pada are clearly not the same person. And finally, we should disregard entirely the remarks related to the limmu year signature on the letter purported authored by Tukulti-Ninurta I. As we have already stated, those comments are factually incorrect, as we will see when we look at the document in the section dealing with the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash.

2) We also introduce this letter because it does provide the revised chronology with yet another synchronism, mitigated somewhat by the fact that the traditional history claims to be supported by the same correspondence of names. In the traditional history the reign of Adad-shuma-user (1216-1187) overlaps the reign of Ashur-nirari III (1202-1197) (see Figure 3, page 4). With the lowering of his dates by 430 years, Adad-shuma-usur's reign (now dated 775-746) overlaps that of Ashur-nirari V (755-745) (see Figure 6). Both positions allow this Babylonian king to be the author of the derogatory letter quoted above. Now if only we could decide whose claim to the letter is more valid.

Two questions arise immediately from the provenance and the content of the letter. The document we are discussing is part of the Kuyunyik collection in the British Museum, material most of which originates from the late 19th century excavation of Ashurbanipal's library in Nineveh. Then how did the letter survive for the five and a half centuries that separated its composition and its ultimate burial in the ruins of that library? And why was such a derogatory letter deemed worthy of preservation in the first place?

The first question, of course, cannot be answered, other than by pointing out that the preservation of such an ancient artifact is rare. Excavations of ancient libraries usually recover correspondence received and authored by the last sovereign who lived at the excavation site prior to its destruction. Letters and artifacts of immediate ancestors of that king are also frequently excavated, but five hundred year old correspondence is rarely, if ever, discovered. And why was such a derogatory letter preserved at all, even by the king who received it, much less considered worthy of preservation over the ensuing centuries. That question was deemed sufficiently important to warrant a response by A.K. Grayson quoted at the end of the third paragraph above. To suggest it was kept (initially) to "goad" the Assyrians to vengeance is

plausible, providing there is some evidence of Assyrian aggression against Babylonia during the reign of Ashur-Nirari III or his immediate successors. But evidence of that is lacking.

The situation is quite different with our Ashur-Nirari V, if for no other reason than the fact that his reign (755-745) is separated from that of Ashurbanipal (669-627) by as little as 75 years. The problems related to the letter's retention and preservation do not exist. No amount of speculation will ever explain how a now fragmented tablet became archived in Ashurbanipal's library, but the removal of the 550 year interval seems to favor our assumed 8th century provenance.

And there is yet another reason to favor the revised history's identification of the Ashur-Nirari named in the letter. The letter holds up for ridicule the "slovenliness, drunkenness, and indecisiveness", not to mention the "lack of common sense", of the two Assyrian kings. Admittedly the reign of Ashur-Ninari III was extremely short, and his five year reign might be interpreted as that of an ineffectual king. But since Ashur-Nirari III is known to have usurped the throne late in life, and the king who preceded him, and another who followed him, were both sons of the powerful king Tukulti-Ninurta I, who ruled Assyria effectively for 36 years, all three were undoubtedly old when they began their reigns. The brevity of those reigns speaks to their advanced age and says nothing negative concerning their effectiveness as sovereigns. And history records nothing about them that would warrant the derogatory letter authored by Adad-shuma-user. Not so for the reign of Ashur-Nirari V.

Ashur-Nirari V and his two predecessors Ashur-Dan III and Shalmanezer IV also followed a lengthy reign of a powerful king, this time a king named Adad-nirari III (811-783). But their reigns seemed to become increasingly ineffectual with the passing of time. One source calls the duration of these three reigns a "period of stagnation".

> **Period of stagnation, 783–745 BC**
>
> Adad-nirari III died prematurely in 783 BC, and this led to a period of true stagnation. Shalmaneser IV (783-73 BC) seems to have wielded little authority, and a victory over Argishti I, king of Urartu at Til Barsip, is accredited to a general ('Turtanu') named Shamshi-ilu who does not even bother to mention his king. Shamshi-ilu also scored victories over the Arameans and Neo-Hittites, and again, takes personal credit at the expense of his king.
>
> Ashur-dan III ascended the throne in 772 BC. He proved to be a largely ineffectual ruler who was beset by internal rebellions in the cities Ashur, Arrapkha, and Guzana. He failed to make further gains in Babylonia and Aram (Syria). His reign was also marred by Plague and an ominous Solar Eclipse. Ashur-nirari V became king in 754 BC, but his reign seems to have been one of permanent revolution, and he appears to have barely left his palace in Nineveh before he was deposed by Tiglath-Pileser III in 745 BC, bringing a resurgence to Assyria.

We leave it to the reader to decide the issue. Was Adad-shumer-usur a contemporary of Ashur-nirari III or Ashur-nirari V? At the very least it must be admitted that we have been most fortunate. Moving the Babylonian king blindly 430 years into the future might easily have

resulted in a situation wherein he had no contemporary Assyrian king who would qualify as the recipient of his derogatory letter. Then what would we have done?

3) The third reason for quoting the letter to kings Ashur-nirari and Ili-pada is to introduce the latter "king". Here we are not interested in synchronisms. We are instead intrigued by the fact that a lesser official of the Assyrian Empire could attain the status of a king. The reader will understand why. Several times already we have argued that our late 10th century Ashuruballit was also merely an Assyrian governor and army commander, yet assumed the title "king of Assyria", and was recognized as such by the Egyptian king to whom he addressed his letters, as was Ili-pada by the Babylonian king. And what makes the parallel between the two "kings" even more interesting, is the fact that both of these individuals acted as governors in precisely the same region of Assyria.

The third paragraph of the Wikipedia article identifies Ili-pada as the "viceroy of Hanigalbat". Another article expands on that title by adding that he "was a member of a side-branch of the Assyrian royal family who served as grand vizier, or *sukkallu rabi'u*, of Assyria, and also as king, or *shar*, of the dependent state of Hanigalbat". His immediate ancestry is well known, at least by name, thanks to excavations at a site in the Balikh River valley in the western half of Assyria, not far from Harran, also on the Balikh River, where earlier we positioned our el Amarna Ashuruballit.

In 1986 a team of archaeologists, led by Peter Akkermans, began digging at Tell Sabi Abyd, in the upper Balikh valley, excavations that would be ongoing today were it not for the presence of ISIL terrorists in the area, forcing a halt to operations. Akkermans has written numerous articles over the years describing developments as they progressed. We depend here on a comprehensive description of the ongoing work, written in 2006.

At that site "large-scale excavations since 1986 have revealed a small yet heavily fortified frontier settlement or dunnu, built by the Assyrians to protect and administer the western most province of their kingdom (p. 201). Six major building phases have been revealed, the earliest dating back to the Mitanni period. For Akkermans that "Mitanni period" would date to the 14th century, the other phases being constructed in the Middle Assyrian period. For our revised history, the Mitanni period primarily encompassed the 10th century, the other five phases would date within the Neo-Assyrian time frame, i.e. from the early 9th century B.C. through to the time of Ili-pada in the middle of the 8th century.

Over four hundred tablets were found over the several decades of excavation at Tell Sabi Abyad. According to Akkermans:

> The many cuneiform texts include official and private letters, military orders, records of economic transactions, personnel lists, etc. They refer to a wide range of both official and personal activities of a number of high-ranking Assyrian officials, who lived and worked at Sabi Abyad. The fortress had many faces in this respect: it was a military outpost on the western frontier of Assyria; it was an administrative centre in control of the westernmost province of the kingdom; and it provided customs facilities on the route from Carchemish to the Assyrian capital of Assur. (p. 201)

Preliminary translation of a few of these tablets has provided some information about the family of Ili-pada, including the fact that his father was named Ashur-iddin and his grandfather Qibi-Ashur, both of whom served as grand viziers and kings of Hanigalbat. The translation of the 400 plus tablets was entrusted to the Assyriologist F.A.M. Wiggermann of the Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, but to date I have been unable to determine if, when and where the translations have been published. They will provide fascinating reading, once located and accessed.

By now the reader will have surmised precisely why we are so interested in the excavation of the Sabi Abyd site. We believe that Ashuruballit, who occupied the area in the last phase of the "Mitanni period" may have possessed the identical titles as Ili-pada, Ashur-iddin, and Qibi-Ashur. And since Ashuruballit, in his Amarna letters, identifies himself as a son of Ashur-nadin-Ahhe, the latter may have held the post before him. It is tempting, in fact, to identify all five "kings" as part of the same extended family.

Shagarakti-Shuriash (804-792)

In our comments regarding the reign of Adad-shuma-usur we referred to a letter purportedly referring to that king, but which actually deals more extensively with the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash. For that reason we postponed examining the letter till now. For the convenience of the reader we repeat the Wikipedia comment regarding the letter quoted earlier.

> Tukulti-Ninurta wrote a letter to the Hittite king, thought to be Suppiluliuma II, four fragments of which were discovered at the site of excavations of Hattusha in the 1930's. It was dated in the limmu year of Ili-pada, in the latter part of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign. In it, he recaps the genealogy of the recent Kassite dynasty, mentioning Kurigalzu II, Kadashman-Enlil II, and Kudur-Enlil, then apparently castigating Shagarakti-Shuriash, the "non-son of Kudur-Enlil", and his sons, one of whom, Kashtiliashu, had provoked the war by his dastardly pre-emptive strike against Assyria. In one place, the sons of Shagarakti-Shuriash have been killed, almost certainly by none other than Tukulti-Ninurta himself. He then makes reference to a "servant of Suhi", where Suhu is a region of northeast Syria, and Itamar Singer proposes this individual to be Adad-Shuma-usur, the implication being he was a foreigner, not of the royal stock and consequently unqualified for office.

Fortunately, this letter can be read in its entirety online here. But since the fragments of the tablet(s) which contained the letter were so badly damaged, and since only the first 28 lines and the final line of the letter contain names, we reproduce below only those 29 lines. It is virtually impossible to make sense of the content of even these lines. Fortunately we don't need to make sense of the letter. We are looking for synchronisms.

Table 2: Letter from Ili-pada to Khashtiliash IV (KBo 28:61-62)

The following uses Freydank's transliteration, which does not differ much from Von Soden's. Hagenbuchner follows Freydank mostly. The only lines where there is a material difference in translation are lines 14-17, where von Soden's translation is shown beside Freydank's. The letter is from Tukulti-ninurta 1, king of Assyria in eponym year Ili-ipadda, which is probably no earlier than 1215. Lines 14-17 seem to indicate that there is some question about whether Sagarakti-suriash has been displaced from the throne and the Great Kings of Assyria and Hatti are attempting to develop a policy on this. Virtually all Assyrian-Babylonian synchronisms have Sagarakti-suriash's

reign ending some years before this, and the letter has accordingly puzzled commentators. This letter was viewed as part of a letter also including KBo 28:63 and KBo 28:64, but this view is not adopted here.

Freydank's transliteration			**German**	**English**
1	]??[		(Anfang fehlt)	(Beginning is missing)]
2	] ša-nu-[		]anderer/zweiter	other/second]
3	] ri-ta-ka-[..		]du hast gesetzt.	You have set.]
4	x] iš-tu Ku-ri-[gal-zu]		] seit Kuri[galzu]	Since Kuri[galzu]]
5	X i]š-tu Ku-du-ur-I[l-li-il]		] seit Kudur-I[llil]	since Kudur-E[nlil]
6	] it-ta-m[…		]…[	]… [
7	x]u SES-ia at-ta		]auch bist du mein Bruder.	] also you are my brother.
8	[x IR ša- kur S]u-hi e-li-am-ma		Nach] Suḫi kam ich herauf, dann	To] Suḫi I came up, then
9	X] (EN.MES)-šu		] seine Herren.	] its lord
10	x]-la-a DUMU Ku-du-ur-Il-li-[il]		]ein Nicht-Sohn des Kudur-Illil	] a not-son of Kudur-Enlil
11	x x x[..... ....x]ka-ia-ma-ni-tu šu-nu		]das ständige [….] sind sie.	...] the permanent [….] they are.
12	Tu-ut-ḫa[-li-ia.... ....X N]UMUN ša Ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-Šu-r[i-aš]		Tutḫa[lija ... Fa]milie des Šagarakti-Šuri[aš],	Tutḫa[lija.... Fa]mily of Šagarakti- Šuri[aš],
13	IR ša kur [Su-ḫi.....x] qa-la-tu-nu		Der Knecht von [Suhi]ihr [sollt] schweigen.	The Servant of [Suhi should] be quiet.
14	šum-ma Ša-g[a-ra-ak-ti-šu-ri-aš... .....x]ib? a-na UGU-ka a-[n] LU Te-te?[-en-ni]	F; V#1	Wenn sich Sag[arakti-suriash…auf den Thron se]tze, so wurde er an dich wegen Bruderschaft nicht schreiben.	If Šag[arakti-Šuriaš …set down from the throne, he would not write to you of Brothership,
15	la-a i-šap[-par.....X GIS.GU].ZA (ša)] is-ziz SES-ia at-ta	F; V#2	[Wenn ..meinen]Thron usurpiert hatte, so hattest, mein Bruder, du geschwiegen.	[If.. my] throne had been usurped, you, my brother, would have been quiet.
16	qa-la-ta x[.....x]u?-u ša IR ša kur Su-hi	V:	Die Hand ….[ ]…des Knechtes von Suhi.	The hand [….]of the servant of Suhi.
17	il-li-[.....[X Ša-ga-ra-ak-t]i-Šu-ri-aš SES-ka ba-la-at	F; V#3	[Wenn Sagarak]ti-Suriash, dein Bruder, lebt, so würdest du…zurückbringen	[If Sagarak]ti- Suriash, your brother lives, you will bring back...

18	KUR-šu ta?[-.....Xt]u-ta-a-ar IR.MEŠ [ša]-nu-u	V:	Sein Land ….[ ] bringst du zurück. [Meine] Knechte	His country …. [....] you bring back. [My] servants
19	li-it-x[.... ...x]?-tu a-na a-be-te an-ni-te	V:	Mögen …[ ] …auf dieses Wort hin	like … [...] …of this word there
20	ŠEŠ-i[a.....]?-al-ka	V:	Mein Bruder [ ]….	My brother [....]….
21	Ša[ga-ra-ak-ti-šu-ri-aš.... ...]-te ša IR ša kur Su-ĥi	V:	Ša[garakti-Šuriaš]…des Knechtes von Suĥi	Ša[garakti-Šuriaš] …of the servant of Suĥi …
22	il-[.....X GIS.GU.ZA ša] KUR Kar-du-ni-aš is-bu-tu-ni	V:	…[den ..na]ch Karduniaš er/man nahm,	[that t]o Karduniaš he/one took
23	ŠEŠ-[ia at-ta.....X]ta- qu-al	V:	Bruder [ ] du wirst aufpassen.	Brother... you will pay attention
24	.....Ša-ga-r]a-ak-ti- Šu-ri-aš	V:	…..[Šagar]akti-Šuriaš	…[Šagar]akti-Šuriaš
25	.....X -š]a?-ni u KUR Ha-at-te ša-ni-ma	V:	]…und Hatti-Land irgendwo	…and Hatti-country somewhere
26	.....] šum-ma gab-bu-šu-nu-ma	V:	]….Wenn sie alle	….If they all
27	.....x-š]u-nu-la-a ku-bu?-ut?- qa ….[š]u-nu	V:	[ ]…Naqaqib….sie.	….Naqaqib….they..
28	.....] IR? ša kur [Su-hi]	V:	[ ]Knecht von {Suhi .]	] servant of {Suhi.]
59	limu] DINGIR-i-pada	V:	[Aponym] Ilu-iĥadda.	[Eponym] Ilu-iĥadda.

We are concerned about only three things regarding this letter. When was it written? Who was it written to? And who wrote it? We begin by answering the last question.

Who wrote it? Assyrian and Babylonian letters typically end in one of two ways. Some, including the derogatory letter written by Adad-shuma-usur to Ashur-nirari V and Ili-pada, close with precisely that combination of the three names, i.e. "Adad-shuma-usur, letter to Ashur-nirari and Ili-Hadda". Others merely conclude with a name which provides a date for the letter. Throughout Assyrian history, each year in a king's reign was named after different leading officials in the realm, including the king. This official was referred to as a "limmu", and the name of the official was referred to as an "eponym". This eponym dating system works fine, providing it can otherwise be determined what year each eponym represents. And in this instance that proves to be impossible, regardless of whether we date the letter in the 12th century or the 8th. Eponym lists for the 2nd millennium do not exist, and are ony known sporadically. While they do exist for the neo-Assyrian period, and we are able to determine the eponyms of all 28 limmu officials whose names were used during the reign of Adad-nirari III – which spans the reign of Shararakti-Shuriash - the name of Ili-pada is not among them. It follows that the name Ili-pada which concludes this letter could be either a name or an eponym if the letter is dated in the 12th century, but can only be a name if dated to the 8th century. 21st century Assyriologists, who unanimously date the letter to the 12th century are divided on

whether the name represents the author or is an eponym. This paper, which dates the letter to the early 8th century, has no choice but to argue that it is authored by Ili-pada, and almost certainly the Ili-pada, governor of Hanigalbat, and "king of Ashur" addressed by the derogatory letter written by Adad-shuma-user. It may not have been written while Shagarakti-Shuriash was living, but still may date within the reign of Adad-nirari III (811-783) or even later. Many scholars believe that Shagarakti-Shuriash is deceased, and it is his family that is being discussed, perhaps in relation to customs matter, by Ili-pada. Regardless, we should disregard the fact that in Table 7 Ili-pada is being treated as an eponym. We assume the name of the addressee has been lost in the damaged area of the tablet.

When was it written? The reason for the lengthy excursus in the previous paragraph was in part to underscore the fact that the 12th century king Tukulti-Ninurta had nothing to do with this letter. As we pointed out in the previous paragraph it was almost certainly written by Ili-pada, "king of Ashur", and was likely written while Assyria was ruled by the 8th century king Adad-nirari III (811-783), and possibly late in that king's reign.

Who was it written to? The beginning sentence of the quoted Wikipedia article suggested that this letter was written by Tukulti-Ninurta to a Hittite king, "thought to be Suppiluliuma II". That comment was motivated by the assumed 12th century provenance of the letter and the fact that the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I is by traditional scholars synchronized with the very end of the Hittite Empire. But only one Hittite king is actually named in the letter, and interestingly, in the same line as the name of Shagarakti-Shuriash. We refer to line 12 which makes reference to a "Tutĥa[lija.... Fa]mily of Šagarakti- Šuri[aš]", a perfect fit with our 8th century timeline (see Figure 6 on page 12). The reign of the Hittite king Tudhaliyas IV not only overlapped the last half of the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash, but that of the next two Kassite kings as well. Since it is the family of Shagarakti that is being addressed here, it is quite possible that this king is dead. Regardless, the synchronism between Shagarakti-Shuriash and Tudhaliyas IV is certain.

Enlil-nadin-shumi (783) and Adad-shuma-iddina (781-776)

When we looked at the Chronicle P earlier, we cut short our analysis of column 4 at verse 13, that being the end of the Nazi-Maruttash/Tukulti-Ninurta II narrative. Had we continued through the balance of the column we would have read a succinct account of two additional incidents, each involving invasions of Babylonia by a king of Elam named Kiden-Hutran. The following table reproduces column 4, lines 14-22 for reference purposes.

Table 3: The invasions of Babylonia by Kiden-Hutran, king of Elam

14' At the time of Enlil-nadin-šumi, the king, Kiden-Hutran, king of Elam, attacked.
15' He went into action against Nippur and scattered its people. Der and Edimgalkalamma
16' he destroyed, carried off its people, drove them away and eliminated the suzerainty of Enlil-nadin-šumi, the king.

17' At the time of Adad-šuma-iddina, Kiden-Hutran returned and attacked Akkad a second time.
18' [...] he destroyed Isin, crossed the Tigris, all of
19' [...] Maradda. A terrible defeat of an extensive people
20' he brought about. [...] and with oxen [...]
21' [...] he removed to wasteland [...]
22' [...]

As mentioned earlier, the two Babylonian kings are part of the trio of kings who ruled briefly between the reigns of Kashtiliashu IV and Adad-shuma-usur. In the traditional history all of these kings are considered to be part of the aftermath of the war between Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kashtiliashu IV. They supposedly reigned at the same time that Tukulti-Ninurta I was governing Babylonia. Consequently, scholars are left to speculate on how these two kings, and the king Kadashman-Harbe II who ruled briefly between them, fit into the overall scheme of things, and volumes have been written on the subject. Scholars wonder additionally why the author of the Chronicle P has listed these two vignettes out of order, discussing the death of Tukulti-Ninurta before introducing these two minor kings, both of whom reigned, at minimum, a decade earlier. As we mentioned earlier, Chroniclers are careful to place their stories in chronological order, starting with the oldest. For the revised history there is no problem. The column 4 Tukulti-Ninurta story took place in the 9th century. These two incidents took place two decades into the 8th century B.C. In our Figure 6 (see above, page 12) the reigns of the two Babylonian kings are dated to the years 783 and 781-776 respectively.

We wonder if there is evidence of the invasions by Kiden-Hutran near the beginning of the 8th century B.C. At first glance we are disappointed. Iranian scholars tell us that they have no records of any Elamite kings ruling at that time, and that for 350 years, from 1100-750 B.C. Elam is in the midst of a prolonged “dark age” (see Table 4 below). But we know the cause of this “dark age”, and more importantly, we know how to at least partially fill it.

Table 4: Elamite King List according to the traditional history

Middle Elamite Kingdom

Dynasty of Igi-Halki

Name	Period of Reign
Igi-Halki	c. 1350-1330 B.C.
Pakhir-Ishshan	c. 1330-1310 B.C.
Attar-Kittakh	c. 1310-1300 B.C.
Khuman-Numena	c. 1300-1275 B.C.
Untash-napir-risha	c. 1275-1250 B.C.
Unpatar-napir-risha	c. 1250-1235 B.C.
Kiten-Hutran	c. 1235-1210 B.C.
Interregnum	c. 1210-1200 B.C.

Dynasty of Hullutush-Inshushinak

Name	Period of Reign
Hullutush-Inshushinak	c. 1205-1185 B.C.
Shutruk-Nahhunte	c. 1185-1155 B.C.
Kutir-Nahhunte	c. 1155-1150 B.C.
Shilak-Inshushinak I	c. 1150-1120 B.C.
Hutelush-Inshushinak	c. 1120-1110 B.C.
Shilhana-Hamru-Lagamar	c. 1110-

Neo-Elamite Kingdom

Name	Period of Reign
Humban-Tahrah	c. 820 B.C.
Humban-Nikash	743-717 B.C>
Shutruk-Nahhunte II	717-699 B.C.
Hallushu-Inshushinak	699-693 B.C.
Humban-Numena	693-687 B.C.
Humban-Haltash I	687-681 B.C.
Humban-Haltash II	681-676 B.C.
Shilhak-Inshushinak	680-653 B.C.
Urtaku	676-664 B.C.
Tempt-Humban-Inshushinak	663-653 B.C.
Atta-Humban-Inshushinak	653-648 B.C.
Khumbanigash II	653-651 B.C.
Tammaritu	651-649 B.C.
Indabigash	697-647 B.C.

We direct the reader's attention to the Middle Kingdom "Dynasty of Igi-Halki" in our Table 4, and particularly to the last named king of that dynasty, where we find our elusive Kiten-Hutran, wrongly credited with ruling Elam in the years 1235-1210 B.C. And how, we ask, did this Elamite king end up in this time slot? To this question the informed reader will readily answer – these are the dates of Enlil-nadin-šumi (1224) and Adad-šuma-iddina (1222-1217) according to the timeline of the traditional Babylonian history (see Figure 3 on page 4). Apparently the only historical source for the reign of Kitin-Hutran is the "Chronicle P".

And what does this information imply concerning Kidin-Hutran, the last named king of the "Dynasty of Igi-Halki". Again the informed reader will answer - "Since Enlil-nadin-šumi and Adad-šuma-iddina actually ruled Babylonia in the years 783 B.C. and 781-776 B.C. respectively (see Figure 6 on page 129) then the reign of Kidin-Hutran must be moved to span those 8th century years. But this is not the end of the story.

The "Dynasty of Igi-Halki", more often referenced as the Igehalkid Dynasty, is renowned for its intermarriages with Kassite kings, particularly the families of Kurigalzu I and his grandson Burnaburiash II. From the Wikipedia article on Burnaburiash II we read

> Diplomacy with Babylon's neighbor, Elam, was conducted through royal marriages. A Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text which takes the form of a letter, now located in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, is addressed to the Kassite court by an Elamite King. It details the genealogy of the Elamite royalty of this period, and from it we find that Pahir-Iššan married Kurigalzu I's sister and Humban-Numena married his daughter and their son, Untash-Napirisha was betrothed to Burna-Buriaš's daughter. This may have been Napir-asu, whose headless statue now resides in the Louvre in Paris.

And from the Wikipedia article on Kurigalzu I we read

> A Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text which takes the form of a letter now located in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, is addressed to the Kassite court by an Elamite King and details the genealogy of the Elamite royalty of this period. Apparently, he married his sister to the Elamite king Paḫir-iššan, the son of Ige-Halki, and a daughter to his successor, Ḫumban-numena. This may have been Mishim-ruh, who is cited in royal inscriptions. The princess went on to bear Untash-Napirisha, the next king who was destined to marry Burna-Buriaš' daughter. The author of the letter is thought to be Shutruk-Nahhunte, ca. 1190-1155 BC, who claims descent from Kurigalzu's eldest daughter and also wed the eldest daughter of Meli-Šipak, the 33rd Kassite king. Unfortunately the letter inserts Nabu-apla-iddina (888 – 855 BC) "an abomination, son of a Hittite", into the narrative in the place one might have supposed that Marduk-apla-iddina I was to appear, the substitution of ^{d}AMAR.UTU by ^{d}AG being an unlikely slip of the stylus, making **a chronological conundrum** and this may be the purpose of the "letter", to denigrate the later king through the tongue of the earlier one. (emphasis added)

From these two paragraphs we known that the 2nd, 4th, and 5th kings of the Igehalkid Dynasty were linked by marriage to the Kassite kings. And the letter that is referenced in both paragraphs, the tablet VAT 17020 in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, clearly shows that Kidin-Hutran is a descendant in this complicated family tree. It follows that the dates of the entire Igehalkid dynasty need to be lowered to bring Kidin-Hutran to his rightful place in history.

There is no problem determining by how much to lower the dates for this Dynasty. In our previous paper, in Table 6 on page 15, we reduced the dates for the Babylonian kings from Kurigalzu 1 to Kadashman-Enlil II, initially by 430 years. Further fine tuning increased that figure slightly as we progressed through to the reign of Kadashman-Enlil II, but for our purposes here, the 430 year total should bring the Igehalkid Dynasty dates tolerably close to where they should be. Thus in our Table 5 below, we apply the 430 year reduction, moving the Dynasty of Igi-Halki into the "dark-age" gap in the Elamite chronology.

Table 5: Elamite Dynastic King List Adjusted to Eliminate the "Dark Age"

Middle Elamite Kingdom

Dynasty of Hullutush-Inshushinak

Name	Period of Reign
Hullutush-Inshushinak	c. 1205-1185 B.C.
Shutruk-Nahhunte	c. 1185-1155 B.C.
Kutir-Nahhunte	c. 1155-1150 B.C.
Shilak-Inshushinak I	c. 1150-1120 B.C.
Hutelush-Inshushinak	c. 1120-1110 B.C.
Shilhana-Hamru-Lagamar	c. 1110-

Dynasty of Igi-Halki

Name	Period of Reign	Reign with dates lowered by 430 yrs
Igi-Halki	c. 1350-1330 B.C.	c. 920-900 B.C.
Pakhir-Ishshan	c. 1330-1310 B.C.	c. 900-880 B.C.
Attar-Kittakh	c. 1310-1300 B.C.	c. 880-870 B.C.
Khuman-Numena	c. 1300-1275 B.C.	c. 870-845 B.C.
Untash-napir-risha	c. 1275-1250 B.C.	c. 845-820 B.C.
Unpatar-napir-risha	c. 1250-1235 B.C.	c. 820-805 B.C.
Kiten-Hutran	c. 1235-1210 B.C.	c. 805-780 B.C.
Interregnum	c. 1210-1200 B.C.	

Neo-Elamite Kingdom

Name	Period of Reign
Humban-Tahrah	c. 820 B.C.
Humban-Nikash	743-717 B.C>
Shutruk-Nahhunte II	717-699 B.C.
Hallushu-Inshushinak	699-693 B.C.
Humban-Numena	693-687 B.C.
Humban-Haltash I	687-681 B.C.
Humban-Haltash II	681-676 B.C.
Shilhak-Inshushinak	680-653 B.C.
Urtaku	676-664 B.C.
Tempt-Humban-Inshushinak	663-653 B.C.
Atta-Humban-Inshushinak	653-648 B.C.
Khumbanigash II	653-651 B.C.
Tammaritu	651-649 B.C.
Indabigash	697-647 B.C.

The revised dates for Kiten-Hutran (805-780) now provide a credible synchronism with the reigns of Enlil-nadin-šumi (783 B.C.) and Adad-šuma-iddina (781-776). The correspondence could be improved were we to apply the result of our fine tuning in the previous paper, but the reader will get the point.

Adherents of the traditional history will no doubt cry “foul”. It will be claimed that we have randomly moved a Dynasty to create our synchronism. But we would counter that our move was not random. Of necessity we had to move the Igehalkid Dynasty 430 years into the future.

We had no notion whatsoever, prior to making this move, that the new location of the Dynasty would bring the two Babylonian kings into line with Kidin-Hutran. And what are the odds that there would exist a complete "dark-age" gap in the Elamite King List that would allow us to move a sequence of kings, 140 years in length, to a new location, and not be confronted with multiple, embarrassing conflicts with the existing occupants of that location.

The gap in the Elamite king list is graphic evidence of the distortion in the historical records of many countries caused by an Egyptian chronology which is 430 years out of synch with reality, and a Babylonian history similarly distorted. At long last the Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite, and now the Elamite kings of the 10th, 9th, and 8th centuries, wrongly positioned for centuries in the 14th-12th centuries, are being returned to their rightful time frame.

We close this section with one further comment. Moments ago we quoted a paragraph from the Wikipedia article on Kurigalzu I, which contained essentially the same information as the paragraph from the Wikipedia article on Burnaburiash II, except for the final comment, which we repeat again here. The author is referring to the Berlin letter VAT 17020, which both paragraphs identify as a Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text.

> Unfortunately the letter inserts Nabu-apla-iddina (888 – 855 BC) "an abomination, son of a Hittite", into the narrative in the place one might have supposed that Marduk-apla-iddina I was to appear, the substitution of^{d}AMAR.UTU by ^{d}AG being an unlikely slip of the stylus, making a chronological conundrum and this may be the purpose of the "letter", to denigrate the later king through the tongue of the earlier one.

It is curious, to say the least, that a letter written to the Kassite court by an Elamite king, supposedly early in the 12th century B.C., would make a derogatory comment about a Babylonian king named Nabu-apla-iddina, who governed the city of Babylon in the years 888-855 B.C. Even the most avid critic of the revised chronology would agree that, if this is what the letter is saying, then – to quote an old biblical cleric – this reference "does not even rise to the level of a contradiction; it makes no sense at all". What is happening here? And how do we explain it to our readers?

Let us be clear. A letter written in the 12th century B.C. cannot make reference to a 9th century Babylonian king. But a letter written in the late 8th century B.C. not only can, but very likely will, make such a reference, especially since the context is dealing with the family of Burnaburiash II. We have positioned Kurigalzu II, son of Burnaburiash II, in the years 894-869 B.C. In the next section of this paper we will explain the fact that all of the Kassite rulers in this time frame were served by native vassal kings, who governed the day-to-day operation of Babylonia. And the king Nabu-apla-iddina, whose dates are 888-855 B.C., served both Kurigalzu II and his son Nazi-Maruttash. His name can be found in a downloaded Wikipedia chart listing the names of all of the "kings of Babylon". The chart lists all the vassal kings of Babylon in the time frame 979-748 B.C. under the headings "Dynasties VIII" and "Dynasty IX". In the revised history the "chronological conundrum" disappears. And there is more to be said.

The two quoted paragraphs refer to the Berlin letter as a "Neo-Babylonian" copy of a 12th century letter. They base this statement on the fact that the letter possesses certain neo-Babylonian literary characteristics, and yet, based on the content, the original was clearly written in the late Kassite era, which in the traditional history ended in the year 1155 B.C. We are therefore intriqued by the quoted paragraph concerned with the reign of Kurigalzu I on page 23 above, which makes an interesting comment about the letter's possible author. The comment is relevant to our revised chronology and deserves a response.

> The author of the letter is thought to be Shutruk-Nahhunte, ca. 1190-1155 BC, who claims descent from Kurigalzu's eldest daughter and also wed the eldest daughter of Meli-Šipak, the 33rd Kassite king.

Surprisingly, we agree with this proposed authorship. But there are two kings in the Elamite chart by the name Shutruk-Nahhunte (see Table 5 on page 24 above). Shutruk-Nahhunte I supposedly ruled from 1190-1155 B.C. This is the king referred to in the quoted statement. Shutruk-Nahhunte II ruled from 717-699 B.C. The reader should not be surprised to learn that they are the same king. The 12th century Shutruk-Nahhunte I will soon be moved to the late 8th century, where he will emerge as Shutruk-Nahhunte II. And we think it quite possible that in this Neo-Babylonian time frame he wrote to the Kassites, now living out the final years of their dynasty. The Berlin letter VAT 17020 is not a late 8th century copy of a 12th century letter. All Near Eastern kings made duplicates of letters written to foreign dignitaries. The Berlin letter to the Kassites was likely duplicated at the time of writing, in the late 8th century, and that duplicate would have been preserved in the Elamite archives. But the letter VAT 17020 housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin is more than likely the original. The only way to distinguish the two would be to enquire of the authorities at the Museum the provenance of the letter.

Marduk-apla-iddina (730-718)

This king is absolutely unique, being the only Babylonian king who is synchronized with himself, albeit obliquely. This makes twice in succession that this unique phenomenon has occurred, since in the previous paragraph we have claimed a fact yet to be proven, i.e. that the necessary lowering of the dates of the 12th century Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte I identifies him with the 8th century Shutruk-Nahhunte II. Other details will demonstrate that there was only one king by that name. They are not father and son; they are not namesake relatives; they are the same king.

Similarly, the "third from the last" Kassite king was named Marduk-apla-iddina I, and in the traditional history he supposedly ruled from 1171-1159 B.C. (see Figure 3 on page 4 above). Only one other Babylonian king bore that same name, and this Marduk-apla-iddina II ruled between the years 722-710 B.C., and surprisingly, again in 703 B.C., though only for only a few months this second time. The reader will find the two mentions of this later king listed in Dynasty X on the same downloaded table of kings of Babylon used moments ago. In this list of

kings of Babylon the first mention of Marduk-apla-iddina II is qualified by the phrase "the Biblical Merodach-Baladan".

It is no coincidence that when we lowered the dates of the 12th century king he reappeared in the late 8th century with dates 730-718 B.C. (see Figure 4 on page 10 above). We are here late in the Neo-Assyrian period, where dates are completely reliable. The list of kings of Babylon inserts as a comment following the reign of Nabu-shuma-ishkun (761-748) that "from this point on, the Babylonian chronology is securely known via Ptolemy's Canon of Kings and other sources".

But for the slight difference in dates (730-718 versus 722-710) we might immediately conclude that Marduk-apla-iddina I = Marduk-apla-iddina II. The discrepancy between the dates nothwithstanding, there is no other king by this name anywhere in the thousand year long list of Kassite kings, or kings of Babylon, unless, of course, we distinguish between the first and second mentions of Marduk-apla-iddina II in the Dynasty X list. A word of explanation is clearly in order, if only to clarify the dual mentions of the 8th century Merodach-Baladan.

The Babylonian King List A on which we have relied for the dates of all the 10th-8th century Kassite kings, including those of Marduk-apla-iddina, has thus far been proven reliable in our analysis by the multiple synchronisms which resulted from its use, and we are therefore confident about the accuracy of the 730-718 dates it provides for Marduk-apla-iddina here. And the dates for the dynasty X chronology of the kings of Babylon are "securely known" according to the final sentence in the previous paragraph, in which case the 722-710 dates for Marduk-apla-idding should be regarded as accurate. Then how do we reconcile the two sets of dates, both of which claim validity, but which differ by eight years? And how do we explain the brief resurgence of this king in 703 B.C., eleven years after the end of the Kassite dynasty and fifteen years after his reign as Kassite king ended, probably because he died at the time? A complete analysis of the question is "out of the question" here, but we can suggest where the answer is probably to be found. For this we look to the Hebrew Bible

In the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, a delegation was sent to Israel bearing letters and a gift from the king of Babylon. The arrival of these emissaries was duly recorded in the archives of the nation, whence it made its way into the Hebrew Bible, in two separate accounts.

> At that time Berodach-baladan a son of Baladan, king of Babylon sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, for he heard that Hezekiah had been sick (2 Kings 20:12)
>
> At that time Merodach-baladan son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, for he heard that he had been sick and had recovered. (Isaiah 39:1)

The details of what ensued in the story is of little relevance to the present discussion. Our interest lies solely in establishing the reason behind the difference in the dates assigned to the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina and those assigned by the Dynasty X king list to the king of Babylon named Marduk-apla-idinna.

We begin by pointing out the obvious, namely, that in the 2 Kings record of the incident a scribe has mistakenly written Berodach instead of Merodach, and a note in the Hebrew text reminds the reader that we should read the name as Merodach, following the Hebrew texts of 2 Kings used by the translators of the LXX, the Syriac, and the Vulgate. The Isaiah text retains the original Hebrew reading. And scholars are unanimous in the opinion that the name Merodach-baladan is the Hebrew version of the Babylonian Marduk-apla-idinna. They are also unanimous in their opinion that the biblical king Merodach-baladan must be identified as the king who ruled Babylon in the time frame 722-710 B.C. We agree entirely. But it might surprise the reader to learn that this king is definitely not the Kassite king who bears that name. It is the opinion of this paper that while Merodach-baladan the son must be identified as the king who ruled Babylon from 720-708, and again briefly in 703 B.C., it is his father, Baladan, who is to be identified as the 3rd dynasty Kassite king whose reign spanned the years 730-718. We itemize below seven reasons for making this claim.

1. The name Baladan is clearly a shortened form of this king's full Babylonian name, which would necessarily have included the name of a god from the Babylonian pantheon. We believe further that his name was identical to that of his son, Marduk-apla-idinna, a name which means "*Marduk* (the Babylonian god by that name) *has given* (iddina) *a son (or heir)* (Akkadian aplu, here in the accusative case). Baladan by itself would translate "He has given a son/heir", with essentially the same meaning, minus the name of the responsible deity. Thus the name would be perfectly suited as an epithet, and assuming that this king was well known to foreign dignitaries by that abbreviated name, it would be a familiar and fitting way to reference him.

2. Referring to foreign kings by name is a relatively rare occurrence in the Hebrew Bible, though it does occur an unusual number of times in the neo-Assyrian time frame. But adding the name of a parent never happens, except in this one instance. We ask the obvious question. Why here? It seems to this author that the Hebrew text adds the name of the father because Marduk-apla-idinna the son, king of Babylon, was not well known to Hezekiah, nor to the readers of the Hebrew text, and therefore had to be introduced as the son of his more illustrious father. Merodach-Baladan the father, Kassite king of Babylonia, would be infinitely more important a dignitary, with greater notoriety than a namesake son recently installed as "king of Babylon" by his father.

3. The Marduk-apla-idinna, son of Baladan, cannot be the Kassite king by that name, because the Kassite king is known to be the son of his predecessor Meli-Shipak, though we admit that this information is recorded on only one document, a kudurru (boundary) stone Sb 22, excavated at Susa and currently in the Louvre. The kudurru records a land grant from Meli-Shipak to his son Marduk-apla-iddina. That information can be found here.

4. Kassite kings rarely, if ever, called themselves "king of Babylon", and for a good reason. They were not kings of Babylon. They were kings of Karduniash, the Kassite name for the country of Babylonia. In the next section we will argue that when the Kassites invaded and conquered Karduniash, they left the political structure of the country virtually unchanged. The

ruling kings, and all government officials were left to govern the day-to-day operations of the county without intervention by the Kassites, and whether domiciled in Babylon or elsewhere in Babylonia, those native kings self-styled themselves "kings of Babylon." The Kassites, as we will also argue next, never did reside in Karduniash.

5. Though we don't know precisely when these emissaries arrived for their audience with Hezekiah, it is likely that when they did, the Kassite king, whom we identify as Baladan, was already deceased. According to the online Encyclopedia Britannica article related to the reign of Hezekiah, the Israeli king ruled from 715 to 686 B.C.

> The dates of his reign are often given as about 715 to about 686 BC, but inconsistencies in biblical and Assyrian cuneiform records have yielded a wide range of possible dates.

According to our revised chronology, the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina died in 718 B.C. If these dates are correct it follows that he cannot be the Marduk-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, who sent gifts to Hezekiah.

It is true that some scholars suggest a lengthy co-regency between Hezekiah and his father Ahaz, stretching back in time as much as a dozen years. If so, then this argument loses its potency.

6. The death of the Kassite king in 718 B.C. precludes the possibility that he can be the "king of Babylon" Marduk-apla-iddina for yet another reason, already mentioned. The latter ruled from 722-710 B.C. and again, briefly, in 703 B.C. The latter date is definitely the clincher. The 730-718 dates and the 722-710 dates could conceivable result from some error in the source documents and thus be reconciled. But there is no possibility that the 3rd to last Kassite king was still alive and engaged in a battle with the Assyrians in 703, eleven years after the 3rd dynasty ended.

7. The assumption that the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina and Baladan, father of the "king of Babylon" Marduk-apla-iddina are the same king, alone maintains the synchronism we set out to establish, and makes perfect sense of the dates assigned to the father and his namesake son. According to the dynasty X list of kings on the Wikipedia list of kings of Babylon , in 748 B.C. Tiglath-Pilezer III subjugated Babylonia and installed Nabu-nasir as "king of Babylon." Assyria continued to hold Babylonia captive through five successive Assyrian "kings of Babylon," the last two brief stints in office taken by the Assyrian kings Tiglath-Pilezer III and Shalmaneser V. . Finally, in 722 B.C., in the 8th year of his reign, the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina re-captured Babylonia, and immediately installed his son Marduk-apla-iddina as "king of Babylon." Four years later the father died, ending his 12 year tenure as Kassite king (730-718). The Kassites replaced Marduk-apla-iddina (Baladan) first with Zababa-shuma-iddina (717) and then with Enlil-nadin-ahi (716-714). The fate of each of these kings is discussed in our next section. During their brief reigns, and for another four years, Marduk-apla-iddina, king of Babylon continued to hold on to his Babylonian kingship. But in 710 B.C. he was driven from Babylon by the army of the powerful Assyrian king Sargon (722-705 B.C.). In 705 B.C. Sargon died,

supposedly in battle, and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib, who inherited from Sargon the dual offices of "king of Ashur" and "king of Babylon". Several years later, in 703 B.C., Sennacherib installed a vassal named Marduk-zakir-shumi as his replacement "king of Babylon". Marduk-apla-iddina opportunistically reappeared to reclaim his former domain. He was successful, but his tenure in office was brief. Within months he was challenged and defeated by Sennacherib, who continued to rule Babylonia through proxies until 694 B.C., interrupted only in 700 B.C. by yet another attempt on the part of Marduk-apla-iddina to retake the throne of Babylon. This time the attempted coup was unsuccessful. A Wikipedia article describes the final days of the son of Baladin.

> During his reign Sennacherib encountered various problems with Babylonia. His first campaign took place in 703 BC against Marduk-apla-iddina II who had seized the throne of Babylon and gathered an alliance supported by Chaldeans, Aramaeans and Elamites. The visit of Babylonian ambassadors to Hezekiah of Judah is traditionally dated to this period. The allies wanted to make use of the unrest that arose at the accession of Sennacherib. Sennacherib split his army and had one part attack the stationed enemy at Kish while he and the rest of the army proceeded to capture the city Cutha. After that was done the king returned swiftly to aid the rest of his army. The rebellion was defeated and Marduk-apla-iddina II fled. Babylon was taken, and its palace plundered but its citizens were left unharmed. The Assyrians searched for Marduk-apla-iddina II, especially in the southern marshes, but he was not found. The rebellion forces in the Babylonian cities were wiped out and a Babylonian named Bel-ibni who was raised at the Assyrian court was placed on the throne. When the Assyrians left, Marduk-apla-iddina II started to prepare another rebellion. In 700 BC, the Assyrian army returned to fight the rebels in the marshes again. Not surprisingly, Marduk-apla-iddina II fled again to Elam and died there.

Zababa-shuma-iddin (717) and Enlil-nadin-ahi (716-714)

According to the traditional history Zababa-shuma-iddin and his successor Enlil-nadin-ahi had very short reigns, both cut short by Elamite invasions, the first led by the Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte I (1185-1155) and the second by his son Kutir-Nahhunte I (1155-1150). Several times recently in this paper we have indicated that we would be lowering the dates of the king Shutruk-Nahhunte, bringing him into alignment with his late 8th century namesake Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699). What we did not say earlier, but now admit, we must also lower the dates for Kutir-Nahhunte. Hopefully we will be able to identify both namesake kings in the early 7th century.

It is time to argue the case. Assuming we can do so, we will have proved our contention that Zababa-shuma-iddin and Enlil-nadin-ahi are correctly positioned at the end of the 8th century. We itemize our argument in point form.

1. All scholars of the traditional history agree that the Elamite king list presented earlier in this paper is essentially accurate (see Table 4, p. 22 above), including the fact that Shutruk-Nahhunte I (1185-1155) is correctly positioned several decades after Kiden-Hutran (1235-1210), the last Elamite king of the Igehalkid dynasty. They are also adamant that these two kings are responsible for bringing about an end to the Kassite dynasty, by deposing its last two kings, and

destroying the Kassite's only outpost in Babylonia, the city of Dur-Kurigalzu. In order to compare these 12th century Elamite kings with their namesakes in the late 8th/early 7th centuries, we briefly summarize their actions via an analysis of the reigns of the two Kassite kings they deposed, namely, Zababa-shuma-iddin and Enlil-nadin-ahi.

Zababa-shuma-iddin:

It is argued by scholars that the king Zababa-shuma-iddin was not a son of Marduk-apla-iddina, his predecessor, a fact consistent with our claim that the eldest son of the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina (alias "Baladan") was his namesake son, installed in the year 722 B.C. as "king of Babylon" by his father, who had just retaken control of Babylonia. Marduk-apla-iddina the son was the legitimate heir of his father. Zababa-shuma-iddin was an interloper. Scholars argue, correctly in our opinion, that Shutruk-Nahhunte was a member of the Igehalkid dynasty family that had for generations been intermarrying with the Kassites, and that his military action against Zababa-shuma-iddin was motivated by the presence of this "outsider" on the Kassite throne, and his frustration at having his claim to the vacated throne overlooked. Thus we read in a Wikipedia article concerned with the reign of the Kassite king Zababa-shuma-iddina:

> His lack of connection to the previous royal family into which the Elamite rulers had intermarried for several generations led Shutruk-Nahhunte, king of Elam, who was himself married to the thirty-third Babylonian king Meli-Šipak's eldest daughter, to believe his claim to the throne of Babylon was more legitimate. A Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text which takes the form of a letter, now located in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, is addressed to the Kassite court by an Elamite King, thought to be Shutruk-Nahhunte, and details the genealogy of the Elamite royalty of this period. He casts aspersions on their choice of king and then declares:
> Why I, who am a king, son of a king, seed of a king, scion of a king, who am king (?) for the lands, for the land of Babylonia and the land of [El]am, descendant of the eldest daughter of the mighty King Kurigalzu, (why) do I not sit on the throne of the land of Babylonia? I sent you a sincere proposal; you however have granted me no reply: you may climb up to heaven – [but I'll pull you down] by your hem; you may go down to hell – [but I'll pull you up] by your hair! I shall destroy your cities, dem[olish] your fortresses, stop up your (irrigation) ditches, cut down your orchards, [pull out] the rings [of the sluices] at the mouths of your (irrigation) canals…
> —*Shutruk Nahhunte?, Letter to the Kassite court.*

The article continues with a description of the assault:

> Shutruk-Nahhunte led an assault on northern Babylonia which resulted in the end of Zababa-šuma-iddina's reign. The event is described in a late Babylonian poetic text purporting to be narrated by a later king, possibly Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur I. He left his inscriptions on many of the trophies he collected for display in the temples of Susa, each with its boastful addendum, to confirm it was he who had conquered Babylonia. A fragment of an Elamite stele describes crossing the river Ulai and seizing seven hundred towns. Another fragment lists the northern cities that had been overthrown including Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar, Opis, perhaps Akkad and Eshnunna.

These two paragraphs leave no doubt that Shutruk-Nahhunte was the author of the Berlin letter we referenced in a previous section of this paper, and furthermore, that he was a member of the Elamite extended family that intermarried with the Kassite descendants of Kurigalzu I. We have no idea why he and his son Kudir-Nahhunte were selected by scholars to

initiate a successor dynasty, the Shutrukids, but since Shutruk-Nahhunte was married to a daughter of Meli-Shipak and declares himself a successor of Kurigalzu I, there can be no doubt that his dates must be lowered by approximately 430 years.

Enlil-nadin-ahi

In yet another Wikipedia article, this time describing the reign of Enlil-nadin-ahi, we read:

> Shutruk-Nahhunte, king of Elam, had overrun Babylonia bringing Enlil-nādin-aḫe's predecessor, Zababa-šuma-iddina's brief rule to an end. He had then returned to Susa leaving his son, Kutir-Nahhunte, to govern. Enlil-nādin-aḫe was proclaimed king of "Sumer and Akkad", and ruled for three years, possibly in defiance of the occupying Elamite forces. A single kudurru, or boundary stone detailing a royal land grant, an administrative text listing recipients of grain from Ur, and a couple of tablets from a small cache from the Merkes section of Babylon, all bear witness to his reign.
> According to later chronicles, his short reign was brought to a dramatic close when he led a campaign against the Elamite forces and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Kutir-Nahhunte, who was possibly now the successor of Shutruk-Nahhunte. He was deported with the Kassite noblemen in chains to Susa accompanied by the booty pillaged from the various Babylonian temples, whose most notable example was the cult statue of Marduk, an act so sacrilegious to the Babylonians that it would forever cast Kutir-Nahhunte in infamy.

We learn very little new from these two paragraphs, save for the fact that Kutir-Nahhunte was the son of Shutruk-Nahhunte, confirmation that he alone was responsible for the ultimate fall of the Kassite Empire, and that his name was held in contempt by later generations. As the son of Shutruk-Nahhunte, it follows that his dates also must also be lowered by 430 years.

The necessary 430 year reduction in the dates for Shutruk-Nahhunte I (1185-1155) and Kutir-Nahhunte I (1155-1150) repositions them in the approximate time frames 755-725 and 725-720 B.C. respectively. The fact that these dates are approximately one decade too early should not be considered a deterrent. The interregnum between the Igehalkid dynasty and following Shutrukid dynasty (in which Shutruk-Nahhunte and his son Kutir have been mistakenly placed) is estimated to be only 10 years, and five of those years are given over to the reign of Hullutush-Inshushinak (1205-1185), the assumed predecessor of Shutruk-Nahhunte I in the Shutrukid dynasty (see Table 4 page 22). It should surprise no-one if we were to lower the dates for Shutruk-Nahhunte I by yet another decade.

2. In a sense we have already confirmed that Shutruk-Nahhunte and his son Kutir belong to the 8th century B.C. Every argument previously advanced in this paper, and in the paper which preceded it - those which confirm that the Kassite kings from Kurigalzu I through to Marduk-apla-iddina (Baladan) ruled Babylonia from the mid-10th through to the late 8th century B.C. - also support our contention that the last two final Kassite kings must have ruled in the late 8th century. And since their brief reigns ended via military action led by the Elamite kings Shutruk-Nahhunte and his son, the names of those two kings should be present in the Elamite king list, assuming that the Elamite king list has been preserved in this time frame. They may not have

been assigned dates consistent with those determined in the previous paragraph, partly because Elamite scholars may have erred in fine tuning the dates for the 12th century namesakes, and partly because their determination of the late 8th century dates must necessarily have been based on very limited inscriptional material. After all, much of the data concerning the reigns of the late 8th, early 7th century Shutruk-Nahhunte II and Kutir-Nahhunte II has been wrongly assigned to their two fictional 12th century namesakes. Certainly we do not expect to read anything about them that would remotely connect them with the Kassite kings they deposed, this for the same reason. All we can expect to see is a record of their existence.

This said, a glance at our Table 3 on page 15 confirms the existence of a king Shutruk-Nahhunte II, with assigned dates 717-699 B.C. Those dates differ from the 755-725 time frame arrived at by our reduction of the 12th century dates of his namesake, but we feel fortunate that the reign of this king has even been documented, much less with dates even closer to those of the two deposed Kassite kings Zababa-shuma-iddin (717) and Enlil-nadin-ahi (716-714) than the dates arrived at by our 425 year reduction of 12th century dates.

But what about Kutir-Nahhunte? He is not listed in the Elamite king list. That omission may or may not be significant. Recall our earlier Wikipedia article that described the invasion of Shutruk-Nahhunte, and the fact that the father left his son Kutir to govern the conquered Babylonian territory. Three years later Kutir deposed the replacement king Enlil-nadin-ahe. The Elamite scholars have assumed that Kutir had by this time replaced his deceased father on the Elamite throne, and accordingly list him as king, succeeding his father in the Shutrukid dynasty. But there is no textual evidence supporting this assumed kingship of Kutir-Nahhunte. It is therefore not surprising that he is absent from the 8th/7th century list of Elamite kings. But having said that, we are gratified to learn that Shutruk-Nahhunte II did have a son named Kutir-Nahhunte, and in spite of not being listed on the king list, he did briefly rule the country. For this information we turn our attention to a Wikipedia article discussing the history of Elam, our attention focused on the section dealing with the Neo-Elamite period (c. 770-646 B.C.).

> More details are known from the late 8th century BC, when the Elamites were allied with the Chaldean chieftain Merodach-baladan to defend the cause of Babylonian independence from Assyria. Khumbanigash (743–717) supported Merodach-baladan against Sargon II, apparently without success; while his successor, Shutruk-Nakhkhunte II (716–699), was routed by Sargon's troops during an expedition in 710, and another Elamite defeat by Sargon's troops is recorded for 708. The Assyrian dominion over Babylon was underlined by Sargon's son Sennacherib, who defeated the Elamites, Chaldeans and Babylonians and dethroned Merodach-baladan for a second time, installing his own son Ashur-nadin-shumi on the Babylonian throne in 700.
> **Shutruk-Nakhkhunte II**, the last Elamite to claim the old title "king of Anshan and Susa", was murdered by his brother Khallushu, who managed to briefly capture the Assyrian governor of Babylonia Ashur-nadin-shumi and the city Babylon in 694. Sennacherib avenged this by invading and ravaging Elam in 694 BC, and destroying Babylon. Khallushu was in turn assassinated by **Kutir-Nakhkhunte**, who succeeded him, but soon abdicated in favor of Khumma-Menanu III (692–689). Khumma-Menanu recruited a new army to help the Babylonians and Chaldeans against the Assyrians at the battle of Halule in 691 BC. Both sides claimed the victory in their annals, but Babylon was destroyed by Sennacherib only two years later, and their Elamite allies defeated in the process. (emphasis added)

This source informs us that Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699) was murdered by his brother Khallushu (699-693) who in turn was assassinated by Kutir-Nahhunte (693-692), likely to avenge the earlier murder of his father, an ironic turn of events according to one Oxford source. There exists no other information than this concerning Kutir-Nahhunte, though the back to back assassinations at least suggest, if they don't prove, that Kutir-Nahhunte was the legitimate heir to the throne of Shutruk-Nahhunte, and that therefore he was his eldest son.

With that we rest our case. Elamite scholars have dated these kings several decades too late. But that is a small error, considering that they have dated the entire Ingehalkid and at least two kings from the Shutrukid dynasty, well over 430 years too early.

As always, let the reader decide if we are right.

C. Babylonian King List A & The Assyrian Synchronistic King List

Two documents alone will suffice to explain how and why the traditional and revised chronologies of Babylonian dynastic history differ as much as they do. Their analysis will also pave the way for our intended extension of the revised Babylonian timeline backward in time through the 1st dynasty, including revised dates for the infamous Hammurabi. As mentioned earlier, the two documents are known by the names "Babylonian King List A" and the "Assyrian Synchronistic King List". We begin with the Babylonian King List.

Babylonian King List A

This King List, unlike its Assyrian counterparts, exists in only one version. In fact, there is preserved only one copy of this list, the only Babylonian document which itemizes and provides the reign lengths of all the kings of the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty, unfortunately surviving on a single, damaged tablet. There are three good online copies of this Kinglist available for the reader to download, print, or peruse:

1) p. 272 of Pritchard's ANET http://www.ericlevy.com/Revel/Intro2/ANET%20265-275%20and%20564-567.PDF

2) http://www.geocities.ws/farfarer2001/chronicles/bkl_a.html

3) pp. 424-439 from J.A. Brinkman, Materials and Studies for Kassite History, Chicago, Oriental Institute, 1976
http://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/mskh1.pdf

Of these three, Brinkman's is by far the most extensive analysis, and Pritchard's has the advantage that it also contains, on page 72-74, a copy of the Assyrian Synchronistic King List, which Pritchard entitles the "Synchronistic Chronicle".

Brinkman's two introductory paragraphs to his APPENDIX D "NOTES ON KINGLIST A" read:

> Kinglist A (BM33332) is the only Babylonian document presently known that originally purported to list all the monarchs of Babylonia and the lengths of their reigns from 1894 till at least 626 B.C. (note 1) Most detailed reconstructions of Babylonian chronology and history for this period (note 2) draw heavily on this tablet for primary data, which are often unavailable elsewhere; (note 3) and its sequence of rulers and dynasties provides the basic framework upon which most historians of Babylonia at least implicitly rely"
> Over the years since the first publication of Kinglist A by Pinches in 1884, there have been widely varying estimates of the trustworthiness of its data, especially the numbers listed for the lengths of individual reigns and dynasties. Modern attitudes have ranged from an uncritical acceptance of most material in the list to rejection of any regnal number unless it is confirmed by independent sources such as economic texts. It is the purpose of the present appendix to examine the kinglist in more detail and to see where within this broad spectrum of scholarly opinion the truth is more likely to lie. (p. 424)
>
> Note 1: The list may have continued down to 539 B.C. or slightly later, but the end is broken away…
> Note 2: With the exception of the Hammurapi dynasty, which is almost completely broken away at the beginning of the text.
> Note 3: Especially concerning the lengths of reigns.

We have no intention of analyzing this document, save for comment on the one major change in its interpretation we are about to make.

This king list reminds this author of a similar Egyptian document, preserved only in fragments in quotations by later authors, and purportedly authored by an Egyptian priest named Manetho in the 3rd century B.C. Like that early Egyptian document, the Babylonian kinglist suffers from an extremely important deficiency. Both documents appear to list dynasties in the chronological order in which they began, but both make no mention of any overlap in the timelines of the dynasties, even though later research has shown that some dynasties do overlap. That deficiency was not corrected by 19th and early 20th century scholars in either the Assyro-Babylonian or the Egyptian fields of studies. And 21st century Egyptologists seem determined to preserve the status quo. But it is somewhat comforting to note a gradual change taking place in the research conducted by Babylonian scholars. It has been recognized in the latest (late 20th/ early 21st century) research that several of the early Babylonian dynasties did, in fact, overlap for considerable portions of their lengths. Unfortunately, to my knowledge, no researcher has dared to tamper with the presumed back-to-back sequencing of dynasties 3-9. Until today.

At the beginning of our radical revision of Egyptian dynastic history we reasoned, with ample precedent to guide our research, that the 26th and 27th dynasties of Egypt overlapped throughout their lengths. There existed abundant research confirming that when the army of one ANE kingdom defeated that of a foreign nation, and the latter became a vassal state of the conqueror, the defeated nation was generally allowed to resume its day-to-day governmental and priestly operations, quite often without even replacing the defeated king, providing treaties were signed with conditions favorable to the conqueror, with future fealty and delivery of annual tribute promised. The conqueror then moved on, either back to the homeland, or forward to yet other battles. Such was the case with the Persian king Cyrus in almost all of his world-dominating conquests. Egypt was an exception in one respect only. Having been

devastated by a Babylonian invasion in 565 B.C. - an invasion that killed and deported a high percentage of the population, and left the county kingless and desolate – the army of Cyrus in 543 B.C. encountered virtually no opposition as they overran the country, and simply left behind a garrison of soldiers to loot the temples, and set up a puppet kingdom of Saite dynasty governors to regulate the recovering nation. It is doubtful that Cyrus ever visited Egypt. And in his much later enumeration of dynasties Manetho listed the Saite dynasty vassal kings as his dynasty number 26 and the Persian overlords as number 27, though both sequences of "kings" ruled their respective domains in precisely the same time-frame. And subsequent generations listed these dynasties as if their kings ruled Egypt in succession. The result, of course, was that the Egyptian timeline was extended by a fictional 121 years.

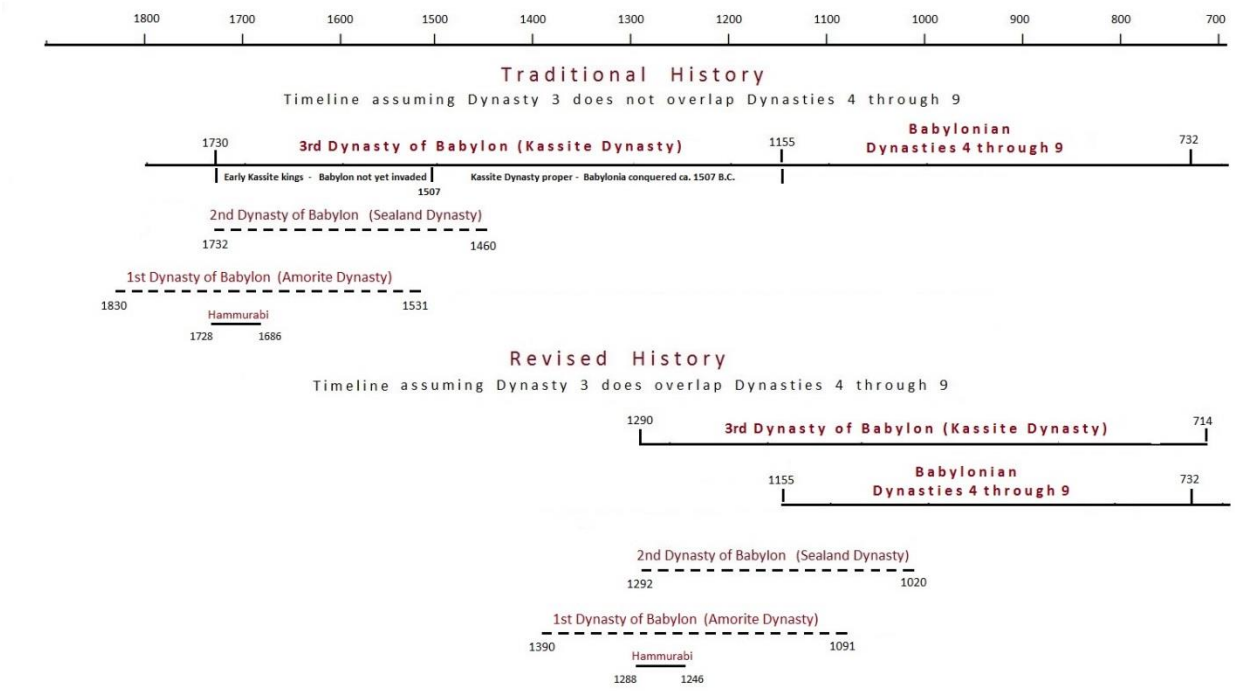
We argue here that a similar error took place approximately 750 years earlier, when the Kassites, yet another "Iranian" kingdom, invaded and conquered Babylonia, left "as is" the ruling faction or factions of the country, and after receiving assurances of future loyalty, and after installing minor governmental officials to represent their interests (and perhaps an army garrison, or garrisons), returned to their homeland in the Zagros region of present day western Iran. In the last decades scholars have increasingly come to the realization that, at least in the early stages of what 20th century scholars called the 3rd dynasty, the Kassite kings did not inhabit Babylonia. Thus in the downloaded Wikipedia list of kings of Babylon used in our third paper, and many times earlier in this paper, eight of the earliest 3rd dynasty kings of the Babylonian King List A are listed separately and described simply as a separate dynasty of "Early Kassite Kings" with the added explanation that "this dynasty did not actually rule Babylon, but their numbering scheme was continued by later Kassite Kings of Babylon, and so they are listed here". By this means the 3rd dynasty of Babylon was reduced in number from 36 to 28 kings. That was a mistake, and we are here to restore the integrity of the Babylonian King List A.

In our understanding, none of the 36 Kassite kings ever actually governed the day-by-day operations of Babylonia, which throughout its history functioned as a semi-autonomous nation, suffering invasions and periodic replacements of kings, and the shifting of the political centers of power common to the region of "Sumer and Akkad" of older times. This situation prevailed for the duration of Kassite "overlordship" of Babylonia, while the Kassite kings continued to function independently, centered in their traditional homeland in the Zagros Mountain region. Even after the 17th Kassite king Kurigalzu I constructed a namesake city Dur-Kurigalzu north and slightly east of Babylon, around the middle of the 10th century B.C. (using revised history dates), we believe the Kassites rulers spent most of their time elsewhere.

Summing up, we have absolutely no reason at this time to doubt that the 36 Kassite kings, whose combined reign lengths totaled 576 years as listed on the Babylonian King List A, were the legitimate rulers of the country for the whole of that time, all the while the land was governed by kings centered in Babylon or elsewhere in Babylonia.

In our estimation the 4th through the 9th dynasties of Babylon, as described on the Wikipedia list of Babylonian rulers, were merely the vassal kings running the country on behalf of the Kassite overlords, precisely as the 26th (Saite) dynasty "kings" governed Egypt on behalf of the 27th (Persian) dynasty conquerors. In this scenario there were always two kings controlling Babylonia (the country that the Kassites called Karduniash), a Kassite king who resided elsewhere, and a "king of Babylon" who governed the country. The situation is depicted graphically in the following figure.

Figure 7: Timelines showing sequencing of Babylonian Dynasties in the Traditional versus the Revised history



We itemize the several comments related to the above diagram:

1. The result of our determination that the Kassite dynasty overlapped dynasties 4-9, and that the dynasty ended in 714 B.C., is the fact that the 3rd dynasty of Babylon must have begun around 1290 B.C., as stated on our Figure 6. This date reflects our confidence in the number 576 for the combined regnal length of the dynasty 3 kings as provided by the Babylonian King List A, a number relied upon by almost all Babylonian scholars.

2. It is immediately apparent that this diagram describes the process by which the Babylonian timeline was erroneously lengthened by approximately 440 years. In the traditional history the 3rd dynasty began around the year 1730 B.C. In the revised history, it began 440 years later, around 1290 B.C. Those 440 years result from a simple interpretive error, a mistaken belief that the Babylonian dynasties of kings, as listed on the King List A, ruled sequentially.

3. The Babylonian King List A begins its enumeration of kings with the eleven member kings of what modern scholars call the "Amorite dynasty" or, following their numerical schema, the 1st dynasty of Babylon. The King List itself designates this sequence of kings, which includes Hammurabi as its sixth member, as the "dynasty of Babylon". Unfortunately all eleven names are in a damaged section of the tablet and are missing. The King List continues in sequence to itemize the monarchs of each of the following eight dynasties, using its own unique names for each, several of which are illegible on the damaged tablet. Scholars have maintained the use of most of these names in addition to their numbering schema for the dynasties. Thus the King List follows the "dynasty of Babylon" with the names of the eleven kings of the 2nd dynasty of Babylon (the 1st Sealand dynasty), the 36 Kassite kings of the 3rd dynasty, the 11 kings of the 2nd Dynasty of Isin, the 3 kings of the 2nd Sealand Dynasty, the 3 Kassite kings of the ""Bit-Bazi Dynasty", a single "Elamite Dynasty" king, and finally, the 14 kings of the 8th and 9th dynasties, treated as a single composite dynasty and titled "the Dynasty of E". The "vassal kings" of the 4th to the 9th dynasties will in due time be included in our timeline charts on a separate line below the timeline of the Kassite kings, where they will add further proof that we have correctly positioned the Kassite kings. This process will also add further synchronisms to our revised Babylonian history.

4. The upper portion of the diagram in Figure 6 represents how the ancient Assyrian scribes conceptualized Kassite history. This was the case at least as early as the reign of Ashurbanipal, as we will see when we examine the Synchronistic King List in the next section. And it remains today universally accepted as an accurate representation of Babylonian chronology by the majority of 20th and 21st century scholars. Revisionist historians are the sole exception.
On the contrary, at least in the early decades following the end of the 3rd dynasty in 714 B.C., Babylonian scribes almost certainly understood that the Kassites and the kings of dynasties 4-9 had jointly ruled Babylonia for centuries. The Babylonians themselves would certainly have agreed with the overlapping dynasties depicted in the lower portion of the diagram.

Unfortunately, the history of Babylonia was not preserved by the Babylonians. It remained for centuries the domain of Assyrian scribes, preserved in dozen of "synchronistic king lists" and "synchronistic chronicles". And in these the history of Babylonia was consistently misinterpreted, with dynasty 3 beginning around 1730 B.C., and dynasties 4-9 following from 1155-811 B.C.

5. We have included the 1st Sealand dynasty (= the 2nd Dynasty of Babylon) in our chart to illustrate the fact that at no time were the Kassite kings the sole rulers of Babylonia. According to the Babylonian King List A this dynasty consisted of 11 kings who ruled for a combined 368 years. Modern scholars add one king to the number, but drastically lower the regnal year total, a wise decision according to this author. While this leaves us temporarily at limbo regarding where precisely to place this dynasty in our Figure 7, there are two details which assist us. On the one hand, the fact that the Babylonian King List A lists this dynasty as its second and the Kassite dynasty as its third, tells us that the Sealand dynasty began at least slightly earlier than

the Kassite dynasty. In the traditional history it supposedly began only a few years earlier. It is also acknowledged by 21st century scholars that the 12th and final king of this dynasty, named Ea-gamil, was overthrown by the Kassite king Ulamburiash, the 12th Kassite king, whose dates fall roughly in the middle of the 11th century. Tentatively we follow 21st century scholars and estimate its duration to be around 270 years. Thus, for the time being, we assign to the dynasty the years 1292-1020. Those numbers will likely change marginally with further research.

6. We have also included the Amorite dynasty (= the 1st Dynasty of Babylon) in our diagram, positioned in relation to the Sealand and Kassite Dynasties precisely as in the traditional history, but with dates reduced 440 years, from 1830-1531 to 1390-1091. We are less confident in the positioning of the Amorite dynasty than we are for the Sealand dynasty, and further research will almost certainly move these dates further into the past, though probably by less than a century. Time will tell. This opinion relates also to the dates assigned to the 6th king of this dynasty, the infamous Hammurabi, who ruled from 1728-1686 according to the traditional history, but from 1288-1246 B.C. in the revised timeline, with his dates reduced by 440 years. . While at this time we cannot say precisely how many years the Amorite Dynasty timeline should be moved back, the reign of Hammurabi almost certainly begins in the 14th century at the earliest. Enough said for now.

7. The reader will notice that the inclusion of the Amorite dynasty and the 1st Sealand dynasty means that for over a century at minimum, from ca. 1155 to ca. 1020, Babylonia was governed by at least three kings, the Sealand dynasty in the south, the earliest dynasty 4 kings in the north, with Babylon as a base, and the Kassite kings, absentee landlords as per usual. Leaving the Amorite dynasty in its present position would create an intolerable situation with four ruling kings, suggesting that at minimum the Amorite dates must move backward in time by 59 years, dating the dynasty 1449-1155 instead of the 1390-1091 assigned in Figure 7. Since at present we do not know precisely where to position the Amorite kings, we leave the diagram as is. In the scenario with three governing kings there is no conflict. The downloaded Wikipedia article on the "Kings of Babylon", in its summary statement for the Sealand Dynasty, readily acknowledges the fact that …

> These rulers may not have ruled Babylonia itself for more than the briefest of periods, but rather the formerly Sumerian regions south of it. Nevertheless, it is often traditionally numbered the Second Dynasty of Babylon, and so is listed here."

8. We note in our Figure 7 that according to 21st century scholars the first 8 Kassite dynasty kings (from Gandash to Agum II) should not be included as part of the "3rd dynasty of Babylon", since the initial invasion and conquest of Babylonia is best dated around 1507 B.C., thus 223 years after the beginning of the dynasty. These 8 kings are accordingly entitled simply as "Early Kassite Kings" and are distinguished from the kings of the "3rd Dynasty" proper, which follows. For the time being we ignore that distinction in our revision, believing instead that all of the Kassite kings resided outside of Babylonia and had minimal involvement in the affairs of the vassal state, and very little presence in the country. We continue to believe that the conquest

of the Babylonia took place around 1290 B.C. Further research should confirm that conjecture. Hopefully we can resolve the matter in a future paper

Assyrian Synchronistic King List

This section will be brief, but for those interested in doing further research on Babylonian history it is perhaps the most important item of all. Two distinct sources potentially contribute to our understanding of early Babylonian history. On the one hand there exist multiple documents which describe synchronisms between the actions of the Babylonian kings and the reasonably accurate Assyrian timeline, as that timeline is depicted on multiple Assyrian king lists. *A priori* this would seem like the best source on which to depend when constructing a Babylonian time line. On the other hand there do exist multiple copies of actual correspondence and treaties and records of military encounters between the Babylonian kings and the rulers of other nations, such as the Egyptians, the Hittites, and most recently the Elamites and the divided kingdom of Israel. These documents also provide valuable synchronisms.

Unfortunately, the first source, which is by far the most plentiful, is of almost no value at all, a lesson learned with difficulty by this author. Frequently he has agonized when perusing the Assyrian Synchronistic King List, and the multiple smaller versions of that king list, usually entitled "Chronicles". The latter documents consistently seem to support the timeline of the traditional history, whereas the other types of sources, without exception, describe the revised timeline. It took a while before it dawned on this author how to explain this dichotomy between the two types of source documents, the one seemingly describing a 3rd dynasty timeline beginning in 1730 B.C., the other a Kassite history beginning in 1290 B.C.

The answer is to be found in a single document – the Assyrian Synchronistic King List.

A downloadable copy of this "king list" can be found at either of the sources listed below.

http://www.livius.org/k/kinglist/synchronic.html

http://www.ericlevy.com/Revel/Intro2/ANET%20265-275%20and%20564-567.PDF p. 272-274

The Synchronistic King List is an uncomplicated document. Side by side it lists the kings of Assyria and Babylon who are contemporary with one another, including the names of multiple kings contemporary with any single king of the other country.

According to the Livius copy of the Assyrian Synchronistic King list:

> The original cuneiform tablet, from Aššur, had four columns and is comparatively well preserved. It mentioned (presumed) synchronisms between monarchs from the Assyrian king Erišu and his Babylonian colleague Sumulail (the first ruler of the First dynasty of the Sealand) down to the reign of Aššurbanipal and Kandalanu in the mid-seventh century.

From that same source we learn that "the document contains the names of 82 kings of Assyria from Erishum, son of Ilushuma to Ashurbanipal and 98 kings of Akkad from Sumulael to Kandalanu". It thus cover the time span from the beginning of the 1st Sealand dynasty to the middle of the seventh century B.C. We have only three questions to ask regarding this document. When was it created? How was it created? And how reliable is it? The questions are, of course, related.

The Time: The document, as presently construed, was obviously created by the scribes of Ashurbanipal, since it was found at Ashur and it names that king at the end of the document. It is conceivable that it was copied from an earlier document, and the names of the most recent kings then added to the copy. But we think not, largely because the process by which such a document could be produced was readily at hand in the seventh century B.C., and the king list, or any portion of it, could have been produced in a few days by any competent schoolboy. In fact, it might well have been a standard curriculum exercise.

The Method: Our Figure 8 below illustrates the process.

Figure 8: Process by which the Synchronistic King List was created

This is not space science. Every 7th century scribe had access to multiple Assyrian king lists. They were without doubt ubiquitous items in every scriptorium. The Babylonian King List, examined in the previous section, was also easily accessible. Our Figure 8 represents how any reader of this paper, much less some ancient scribe, would proceed to manufacture a Synchronistic King List, by simply listing the timelines for Assyria and Babylonia side by side, and making note which kings are contemporary. In fact, our Figure 3 on page 4 illustrates precisely what would be visible between the years 1374 and 1133 B.C. when detailed Assyrian and Babylonian timelines are oriented side by side, as in our Figure 8. The scribes might well have used manufactured timelines, or more than likely they simply replaced the timeline with some basic calculations using the known reign lengths of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings. The result would be the same.

The Reliability: A glance at our Figure 3 speaks volumes about the accuracy of this method. Providing the time lines are properly scaled, and are accurately positioned, an extremely accurate Synchronistic King List will result. But therein lies a multitude of minor problems.

Positioning the two king lists relative to one another is problematic, and there is evidence that different scribes synchronized the timelines differently. But there does appear to be one constant in the methodology. All Assyrian scribes are clearly informed that the reign of the Babylonian king Burnaburiash II must overlap that of Ashuruballit I, regardless of variations in the amount of overlap. As for the timelines themselves, the ancients surely recognized that there existed multiple Assyrian King Lists, each with its own peculiarities. And 21st century scholars admit that strict accuracy in interpreting the king lists is only possible in the most recent lists, those which describe the reigns of the neo-Assyrian kings. The further back in time we locate an Assyrian king, the more questionable the dates assigned to his reign

The major problem, however, is not with the relative positioning of the timelines, nor the variations in the Assyrian king lists, but with the Babylonian King List A. Even assuming that the early scribes possessed undamaged copies of this list, and that the numbers included on the tablet were all legible and completely accurate, the results of this procedure would be disastrous since, as we have argued earlier, the Assyrian scribes without exception assumed that the dynasties on the Babylonian king list A did not overlap. If we are correct in our assumption that the Kassite kings did not rule in the time frame 1730-1155, but rather in the years between 1294 and 714, it follows that none of the Babylonian kings on the Assyrian synchronistic King List are even remotely contemporary with their Assyrian counterparts. Each Assyrian king would be paired with a Babylonian king whose reign would not begin for another 430-440 years. In our Figure 3, which incorporates the data on the Synchronistic King List in the interval 1374-1133 B.C., the Babylonian kings listed as synchronous with any given Assyrian king have not yet been born. In fact, over 400 years must pass before their parents are born. It follows that the Assyrian Synchronistic King List is absolutely worthless as an historical document, save for two redeeming features. It does preserve a record of the sequence of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, insofar as the Assyrian King List and Babylonian King List utilized by the scribes have accurately preserved the respective historical records. Additionally, the synchronisms produced for Assyrian and Babylonian kings who reigned after the approximate year 1155 B.C., *the synchronisms will actually be accurate*, since the failure to overlap the dynasties does not affect the positioning (and hence the dates) of the vassal Babylonian kings of dynasties 4-9 vis-à-vis their Assyrian contemporaries (see Figure 7 on page 38.

It is important to repeat our earlier comment that the reliability of the Assyrian Synchronistic King List is not restricted to that document. In the early 7th century B.C., and in the decades following, multiple “mini synchronistic king lists” called Chronicles were produced by the scribes, this for reasons no longer clear. We have already encountered one such “mini synchronistic king list” in our previous paper. The “Synchronistic History” discussed in our 3rd and 4th papers is essentially a listing of multiple Assyrian/Babylonian synchronisms precisely as they would appear on the more complete Assyrian Synchronistic King List, but in this instance with added commentary concerned alleged military confrontations and other assorted matters. The kings selected as the subject matter on these tablets did not rule consecutively. They are often separated in time by multiple decades, even a century or more. But they share the same

criticism applied to the larger, more complete, parent document, the Assyrian Synchronistic King List. Where the Babylonian kings being synchronized belong to the 3rd dynasty, that king's positioning alongside his Assyrian counterpart is in error by over 400 years. Where the Babylonian king is part of the dynasty 4-9 group of Babylonian vassals, the synchronism should be reliable, though the details accompanying the names of the kings must always be read with caution. These "mini synchronized king lists" are generally, though not always, referred to by 21st century scholars as Babylonian Chronicles, though most were authored by Assyrian scribes. The only notable exception discovered to date has been the "Chronicle P" analyzed in depth in the last paper and further in this document. The Chronicle P is unique in two respects. It includes several synchronisms between Babylonian and Elamite kings and is therefore clearly not the result of placing Babylonian and Assyrian timelines side by side. And it is not the product of Assyrian scribes. As such it is unique among Chronicles in preserving reliable synchronisms involving Kassite kings.

A few notable Babylonian Chronicles, such as the Walker's Chronicle and the Dynastic Chronicle, contain Kassite/Assyrian synchronisms, and are thus historically unreliable. Other documents, such as the Eclectic Chronicle and the Religious Chronicle deal solely with dynasties 4-9 synchronisms and are extremely reliable, and therefore qualify as essential reference materials.

Any readers who intend to do research in Babylonian history must be aware of the deficiencies inherent in the Assyrian source documents.

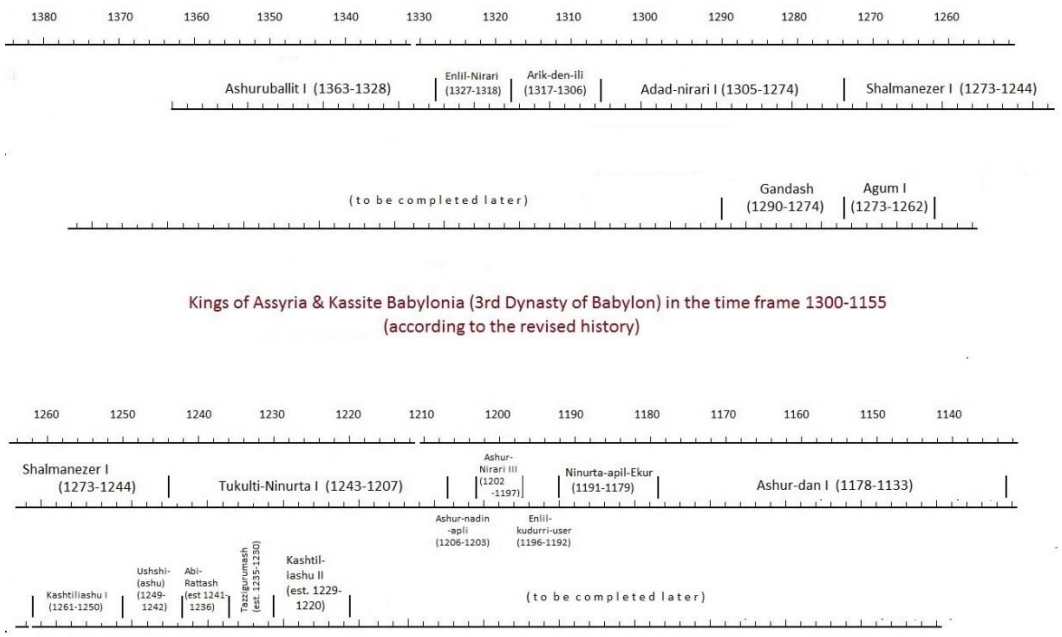
A Look Ahead

Clearly there remains a great deal of work to be done in this revision of Babylonian history. We have yet to move back in time to reposition the Kassite kings who ruled prior to Kurigalzu I, though we begin that process today with the inclusion of our Figure 9 below. We also need to include in our timeline charts the vassal "kings of Babylon" who governed Babylonia on behalf of their "absentee landlords", the Kassites. This will include the kings of dynasty 2 (the Sealand Dynasty), the kings of dynasties 4 through 9, as recorded on the Babylonian King List A, and the kings of dynasty 10, who functioned primarily in the 8th century. And at some time in the future we need to determine precisely when (and where) the dynasty of Larsa and the Amorite dynasty fit into the temporal framework. This will take time, and I woud not anticipate

publishing any results of this investigation for upwards of a year. In the meanwhile we hope to add to our list of papers examining other areas of our Displaced Dynasties timeline.

We close this paper by producing a tentative timetable of the earliest Kassite kings, with minimal discussion added. There exists considerable disagreement among scholars not only regarding the sequence of names that should be included, but also the reign length of each king. In our Table 9 we use the data from p. 272 of Pritchard's ANET (Ancient Near Eastern Texts), one of the sources we recommended earlier for the Babylonian King List A (and the Assyrian Synchronistic King List). Pritchard simply reproduces the data from that King List, and attempts to read the reign length numbers on the damaged tablet. Thus, according to him, the earliest half-dozen kings (with reign lengths in brackets) were Gandash (16), Agum I (12), Kashtiliashu I (22), Ushshi (8), Abi-Rattash (unknown) and Tazzigurumash (unknown). We have added a single name to this list, based on other sources, that of a Kashtiliashu II (years unknown). Assuming that the Kassite dynasty began in 1290 B.C. (714 + 576), we have simply erased the names of the Kassite kings from our Table 3 chart [none of whom belonged in that time frame) and have added the names of these seven kings, estimating the reign lengths of the final three kings from discussions regarding their reigns found elsewhere. This produces at least a rough estimate of the historical placement of these kings. The dates on the charts assume that these kings followed an accession year dating system, as did the much later kings. The reader will note that in this chart the king Kashtiliashu II is contemporary with the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta 1, as promised in the first section of this paper. And even a slight change in the dates of the named kings would make Kashtiliashu I also a contemporary of Tukulti-Ninurta I. There is therefore no need to look elsewhere to find the likely opponent of the Assyrian king in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic.

Figure 9: Timeline of the earliest kings of the Kassite dynasty


1380 1370 1360 1350 1340 1330 1320 1310 1300 1290 1280 1270 1260
Ashuruballit I (1363-1328)
Enlil-Nirari (1327-1318)
Arik-den-ili (1317-1306)
Adad-nirari I (1305-1274)
Shalmanezer I (1273-1244)
(to be completed later)
Gandash (1290-1274)
Agum I (1273-1262)
Kings of Assyria & Kassite Babylonia (3rd Dynasty of Babylon) in the time frame 1300-1155
(according to the revised history)
1260 1250 1240 1230 1220 1210 1200 1190 1180 1170 1160 1150 1140
Shalmanezer I (1273-1244)
Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207)
Ashur-Nirari III (1202 -1197)
Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1191-1179)
Ashur-dan I (1178-1133)
Ashur-nadin-apli (1206-1203)
Enlil-kudurri-user (1196-1192)
Kashtiliashu I (1261-1250)
Ushshi-(ashu) (1249-1242)
Abi-Rattash (est 1241-1236)
Tazzigurumash (est. 1235-1230)
Kashtil-iashu II (est. 1229-1220)
(to be completed later)

Assuming that objections might be raised because of our addition of the final name, we produce below yet another version of the list of the earliest Kassite kings, this time based on the most recent scholarship and published online in a Wikipedia article in table form. We note from that article that the current generation of scholars read the Babylonian King List A differently than did Pritchard. Both the reading of names and the reign lengths differ. We now have two kings by the name Kashtiliashu. And the reign lengths of the first two kings, Gandash and Agum I have increased from 16 and 12 to 26 and 22 years respectively. Assuming these numbers are correct, the first three kings of the dynasty, Gandash, Agum I and Kashtiliashu I ruled during the years 1290-1264, 1264-1242, and 1242-1220 respectively. In this scenario it is Kashtiliashu I (1242-1220) who was contemporary with Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). Regardless, in either situation we have confirmation that the Tuklti-Ninurta Epic was not based on a war between the 12th century king Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kashtiliashu IV, who ruled in the 8th century.

Paper #3 Argument that the later kings of the Babylonian "dynasty of E" were vassals of the 8th century 3rd Dynasty Kassite kings

In the previous two papers of this Chronology section (papers #1 and #2) we made the following discoveries:

1) In the Babylonian document entitled the *Chronicle P* we finally found a long sought reference to an Assyrian king named Ashuruballit, in a context which conclusively identifies him as the king by this name who authored two letters in the Amarna archives. This king appears to have governed the western regions of the Assyrian Empire in the last quarter of the 10 century B.C., and the early decades of the 9th century, precisely where and when our revision of dynastic Egypt conjectured his existence. As a result, the discovery removed the only tangible objection to our claim to have successfully established the true chronological dates for Egyptian dynasties 18 through 26.

2) The document that provided the dates for Ashuruballit also linked this king with the Babylonian king Burnaburiash II, the 19th king of the 3rd (Kassite) Dynasty of Babylon, like Ashuruballit a communicant in the Amarna letters. In total five Kassite kings (the 19th through to the 23rd) are named in the document, including kings Kurigalzu II and Nazi-Maruttash. Thus began our resolve to flesh out the chronology of the country known to the world as Babylonia, and to the Kassites themselves as Karduniash. We were immediately able to extend the list of Kassite kings backward in time to include the father and grandfather of Burnaburiash II, kings Kadashman Enlil I (his father) and Kurigalzu I (his grandfather). And with the assistance of a document entitled *The Babylonian King List A*, we were able to cite the names and dates of the two 9th century successors of Nazi-Maruttash, specifically, Kadashman-Turgu and Kadashman-Enlil II.

3) Having determined fairly precise dates for nine of the Kassite kings [king #17 (Kurigalzu I) through to king #25 (Kadashman-Enlil II)] all of whom reigned between the middle of the 10th century and the end of the 9th, we proceeded to verify that the assigned dates were correct by confirming the existence of up to a dozen synchronisms between these kings and the kings of Assyria, Egypt, and Hatti. For the latter process we used the established dates for the late 10th and 9th century Assyrian kings and the *Revised History* dates for the Egyptian and Hittite kings in this same time span. The dates for Egypt and Hatti had been determined with precision many years earlier and are published in volumes 1-3 of our Displaced Dynasties Series.

At this stage in our research we had established, with little possibility of error, that the dates for the named Kassite kings were approximately 440 years more recent than the dates assigned these same kings by the *Traditional History*.

All of the research referred to above is confined to our 3rd paper.

4) The dating of king Ashuruballit in the *Chronicle P* was determined initially via our analysis of the 4th column cuneiform text of that document. Consequently, we decided to begin our 4th paper with an appraisal of the interpretation of that same 4th column text by the academic community which supports the traditional Babylonian history. The analysis occupied the first dozen pages of the paper. Needless to say we found the traditional interpretation of that 4th chapter to be entirely lacking credibility. And since we had begun confirming the accuracy of our interpretation by verifying multiple synchronisms for the nine Kassite kings belonging to the 10th/9th centuries, we decided to extend that analysis to the remaining eleven kings of the 3rd Kassite Dynasty (the 26th through to the 36th kings), all of whom ruled in the 8th century B.C. The names and reign lengths of most of these eleven kings were listed precisely as documented in the aforementioned *Babylonian King List A*, augmented by the research of J.A. Brinkman compiled in his "*Materials and Studies for Kassite History*" (1976).

5) Our analysis of the final eleven Kassite kings confirmed beyond question that our 8th century dating of these kings was extremely accurate. Over a dozen synchronisms for these Kassite kings are recorded in our 4th paper, not only with kings of Assyria, Egypt and Hatti, but also with three kings of Elam (Kidin-Hutran, Shutruk-Nahhunte and his son Kutir-Nahhunte) and with king Hezekiah of Israel. The analysis occupied another two dozen pages.

6) According to the *Babylonian King List A* the Kassite dynasty was composed of 36 kings who ruled a combined 576 years. Since we had by this stage determined that the final Kassite king was deposed or died in 714 B.C., it followed that the dynasty began in the year 1290 B.C. (=714 + 576). This allowed us to roughly position the first half dozen kings of the 3rd dynasty based on the names and reign lengths of these kings as documented in the *Babylonian King List A*.

7) The terminal pages of our 4th paper also served to explain the mechanism by which the traditional history had incorrectly dated the 3rd dynasty kings. In the traditional history the Kassite dynasty kings ruled from 1730-1154 B.C. followed successively by the kings of dynasties 4 through 9, who governed Babylonia until late in the 8th century. In the revised history we reasoned that the Kassite kings conquered Babylonia in 1290 B.C. and ruled until 714 B.C., with the kings of dynasties 4 through 9 serving as their vassals, governing the day to day operations of the country. Thus resulted the 440 year error in dating the Kassite kings.

Here our 4th paper ended, with the comment that it would be followed by further argument in defense of our hypothesis of overlapping dynasties. This 5th paper begins that process.

Our argument in this paper is restricted to proving that the later 9th dynasty (vassal) "kings of Babylon" occupied the same 8th century context as the final eleven (overlord) Kassite kings of the 3rd dynasty. In the next paper the process will be repeated for the kings of both the 3rd and 9th dynasties who ruled Babylonia from the mid-10th through to the end of the 9th century.

Four strands of argument will suffice to prove our case for the 8th century. They are:

A. Argument based on the historical prevalence of overlapping dynasties both in Babylonia itself and in the A.N.E. generally.
B. Argument based on the remarkable "coincidence" of an abundance of "synchronism" proving that the later Kassite kings did, in fact, occupy Babylonia/Karduniash from the mid-10th through to the late 8th centuries B.C.
C. Argument based on the relative absence of 9th dynasty versus the abundance of 3rd dynasty documentation.
D. Argument that the mid-8th century sequence of Babylonian natural disasters, and "mass migrations" of marauding foreigners, agrees perfectly with our placement of the Egyptian and Hittite timelines, and is at least consistent with our thesis that the 3rd dynasty king Adad-shuma-user (775-746 B.C.) and the 9th dynasty kings Ariba-Marduk (769-761 B.C.) and Nabu-shuma-ishkun (761-748 B.C.) were contemporaries.

We proceed in that order. The first three points will occupy the next eight pages. The final point will fill the balance of the paper, approximately 26 pages.

A. Argument based on the prevalence of overlapping dynasties both in Babylonia itself and in the A.N.E. generally.

We begin by mentioning once again our contention that the failure to overlap dynasty 3 and dynasties 4-9 is the cause of the 440 year error in the dating of the Kassite Dynasty kings. Our historical positioning of the last twenty Kassite kings in papers #1 and #2 was not contrived in order to bring that dynasty of kings into alignment with the kings of Egypt and Hatti, as independently determined by ourselves in the third book of our Displaced Dynasties Series. That 440 year reduction followed naturally from our interpretation of the text of the Chronicle P. We had no choice in the matter. In figurative terms, it was the hand we were dealt.

At the conclusion of our paper #2 we argued that the Assyrians scribes, by the time of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (ca 668-627), thus less than a century after the end of the Kassite dynasty, were already misinterpreting the *Babylonian King List A* and associated documents. On the *King List A* tablets the Kassite kings of the 3rd dynasty are followed immediately by the names of approximately 40 kings, divided into six additional dynasties (actually five considering that the King List includes the single dynasty 8 king with the multiple dynasty 9 kings under the single rubric "dynasty of E") which the ancient Assyrian scribes mistakenly interpreted as dynasties which ruled in *succession **following*** the demise of the Kassites. And since Babylonian history was actually written by Assyrian scholars, not by the Babylonians themselves, this opinion has prevailed up to the present. Without exception the whole of the academic community today believes that the Kassite dynasty of kings existed for 576 years, only to be succeeded in Babylonia by six dynasties of "kings of Babylon" who ruled for an additional four and a half centuries. Contemporary scholarship has been able to assign approximate absolute dates to these 4th-9th dynasty kings, based on the fact that at approximately seventeen of them can be synchronized with Assyrian kings, whose dates are well established. Thus, according to

the traditional history, dynasties 4 through 9 ruled Babylon during the approximate time frame 1154-732 B.C., i.e. for 422 years.

We are in complete agreement with scholars regarding the dates 1154-732 assigned to the kings of dynasties 4 through 9. We are in complete disagreement with their positioning of the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty in the 576 years preceding 1154. King lists such as the *Babylonian King List* routinely date overlapping dynasties of kings as if they ruled sequentially, with no clear indication in the text that such is the case. In fact, scholars have determined during the last century that this overlapping of dynasties was precisely the situation that prevailed in Babylonia with the first two numbered Babylonian dynasties cited in the *King List A*. In the 19th century scholars assumed that dynasties 1, 2 and 3 ruled successively. Only in the 20th century was it determined conclusively that they did not. It was in fact determined that dynasty 1 overlapped dynasty 2 through most of its length, and more to the point, these two dynasties overlapped the first 150 years of the Kassite dynasty. A glance at the upper section of our Figure 1 on the following page illustrates this traditional historical situation. This scenario proved to be intolerable to twentieth century scholars, it being difficult to imagine three dynasties ruling the same territory simultaneously. There resulted the opinion that the Kassite dynasty of kings did not actually invade and conquer Babylonia until several centuries after the dynasty began. During that time the Kassites remained in their homeland in the Zagros region of northern Iran. Instead, dynasties one and two jointly ruled Babylonia as absolute monarchs, contemporary with these neighboring Kassite kings, the 1st (Amorite) dynasty governing the north of the country, and the 2nd (Sealand) dynasty governing the south. When the Kassites did invade and conquer Babylonia, around the year 1507 according to scholars, they quickly assumed total control of the country, totally displacing dynasties one and two. Thereafter, until the year 732 B.C., Babylonia was ruled by a single dynasty, first by the Kassites, then in succession by the "kings of Babylon" belonging to dynasties 4 through 9. We wonder at the fact that Babylonia, ruled jointly by two powerful dynasties for upwards of 150 years, would suddenly revert to being governed by a single dynasty for upwards of 770 years (1507-732 B.C), particularly when some of these later dynastic kings were so weak as to leave hardly a memory of their existence, so much so that scholars scarcely know how to spell their names. We wonder also how long it will take modern scholarship to recognize that these later "kings of Babylon" were merely puppet kings, some weak rulers, some strong, but all governing under the supervision of their overlord Kassite rulers.

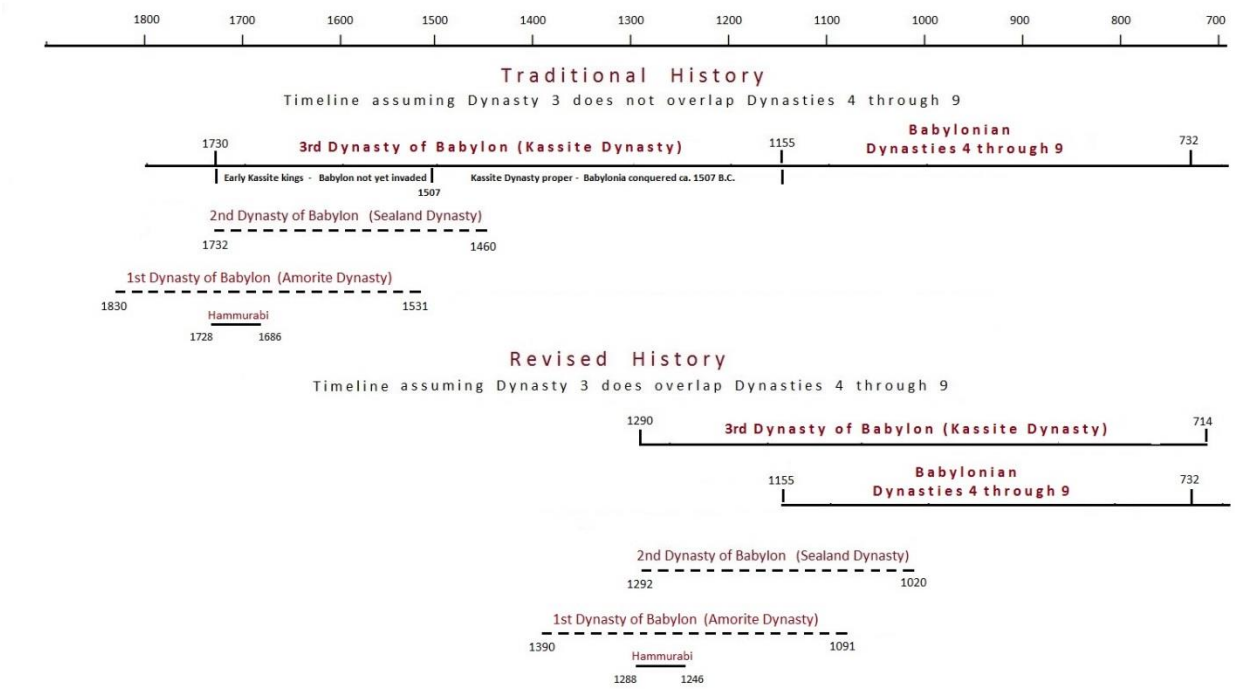
In our 4th paper we argued that it is likely that none of the 36 Kassite kings ever called Babylonia/Karduniash their home, though they were, throughout the 576 years of their existence, cited in *King List A* as the *de lecto* rulers of the country. As was typically the case in the Ancient Near East, following the subjugation of one country by another, the conquerors left the existing rulers of the conquered territory in place as vassals, filled key governmental positions with men of their own choosing, in this instance likely ethnic Kassites, and very possibly left a small occupational military presence, to maintain order, collect tribute, and generally represent their interests in the country. Then they left the land under the leadership

of the vassal kings, who in the case of Babylonia, self-styled themselves as “kings of Babylon”. And the Babylonian King List A dutifully preserved the names of all of these vassal kings following its citation of the names of the overlords of the country.

It is possible, though unlikely, that the Kassite invasion of Babylonia took place over two hundred years after the beginning of the reign of the first named 3rd dynasty ruler in the *King List A*. But we cannot fathom why a list of kings purporting to rule Babylon (*the King List A*) would include upwards of a dozen names of kings who had no dealings whatsoever with the country. That theory of a delayed invasion appears to be a construct, created by modern scholars in order to reconcile conflicting data which is of their own creation, resulting from their failure to extend their theory of overlapping dynasties to its rightful conclusion, namely, the realization that Babylonia throughout the Kassite period always had at least two rulers, a Kassite overlord and either a single Babylonian vassal king or multiple kings (probably no more than two).

In our 4th paper we diagrammed the situation that prevailed in Babylonia according to the understanding of 21st century scholars (see Figure 7 on page 38 of the 4th paper), and the approximate situation that prevailed in Babylonia as understood by ourselves. That diagram is reproduced below as our Figure 1.

Figure 1: Timelines showing the sequencing of Babylonian Dynasties in the Traditional versus the Revised history



One qualification needs to be made regarding the Revised History timeline in Figure 1. Since we are a long way from researching the specifics of the second millennium Kassite history, at this time we do not know precisely where to position the 1st and 2nd dynasties. It is likely, but not certain, that further research will show that the timelines for both dynasties should be moved backward approximately 135 years, this in order to avoid any overlap between these dynasties and the 4th dynasty kings. In the meanwhile we have left the relative positioning of dynasties 1, 2 and 3 precisely as depicted in the Traditional History section, even though we are certain that it is not correct. This positioning will change over time. Only one thing is certain. The infamous Hammurabi, one of the most powerful kings of the 1st (Amorite) dynasty, dated c.a. 1728-1686 B.C. by the traditional history, and purported to be the author of the first detailed "law code" in history, will have his dates reduced by at least three hundred years in the revised history. In the Figure 1 revised timeline he is assigned dates (1288-1246 B.C.), derived simply by reducing his traditional dates by 440 years. Assuming the Amorite dynasty is moved back in time by 135 years, as suggested above, Hammurabi's dates would necessarily be adjusted to 1423-1381. His creation of a law-code probably fell around the middle of his lengthy reign, post-dating the Israeli law code by at least a half century. There is no doubt that the idea of a "code of law" governing the daily life of a nation was inherited by Hammurabi from Moses, not the reverse as is commonly argued.

One final comment before we move on to our second point. Thus far we have remarked on the fact that Babylon was governed by kings of dynasties one and two during the tenure of the early Kassite kings, establishing a precedent that would strongly suggest that it was governed by yet other dynasties of "kings of Babylon" for the remainder of Kassite rule. We have also noted that the phenomenon of vassal kings ruling conquered territory on behalf of conquering kings was commonplace in the Ancient Near East. What we failed to mention was the fact that the misinterpretation of the *Babylonian King List A* by the ancients and by modern scholars also has historical precedent. In fact, the entirety of Book 1 of our Displaced Dynasties series was written in order to correct the identical error in interpreting an Egyptian king list. In that instance the king list of Manetho, which listed the 26th and 27th Egyptian dynasties sequentially, has universally been understood as confirming that the 27th (Persian) dynasty followed on the heels of the 26th (Saite) dynasty, where in fact the 392 page argument of Book 1 proved conclusively that the two dynasties overlapped for much of their length. In the Egyptian scenario the first mentioned dynasty (the 26th) consisted of the vassal kings and the second list of names (the 27th) consisted of the Persian overlords. The reader should perhaps read again the initial chapters of Book 1 of that series.

B. Argument based on the remarkable "coincidence" of an abundance of "synchronous" material proving that the later Kassite kings did, in fact, occupy Babylonia/Karduniash from the mid-10th through to the late 8th centuries B.C.

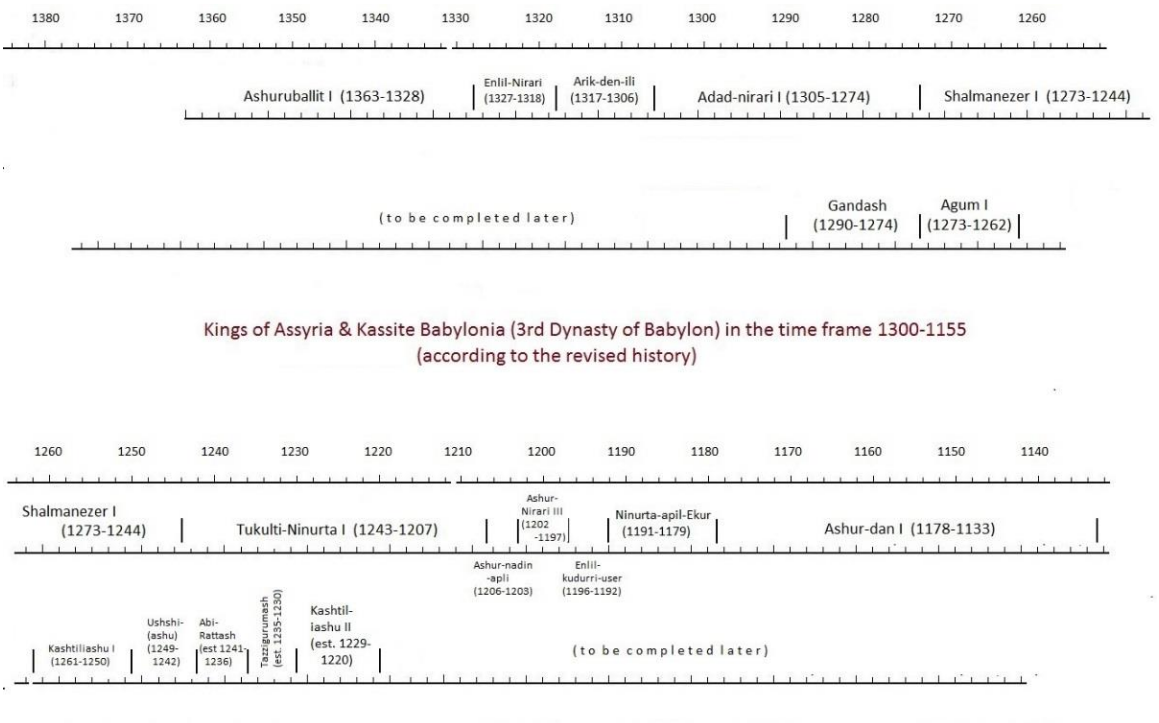
When we analyzed the text of the Chronicle P in our third paper, we were compelled to assign specific late 10th - early 9th century dates to the Kassite kings Burnaburiash II and Kurigalzu II. This in turn allowed us to assign extremely precise dates to all twenty of the last kings of the Kassite dynasty, using names and reign lengths provided by the King List A, augmented by other inscriptional material. At this point we were able to demonstrate a remarkable sequence of synchronisms between these kings and the kings of Egypt, Hatti, Assyria, Elam and Israel. It goes without saying that, had the text of the Chronicle P compelled us to date these kings as little as twenty years earlier or twenty years later than it did, these synchronisms would not exist and our argument would fail. Not only would we not be able to confirm the accuracy of our revised Babylonian history as it now stands, but the lack of synchronisms would tend to discredit the arguments in books 1, 2, and 3 of our Displaced Dynasties series, arguments that resulted in the revised Egyptian and Hittite timelines on which we relied. The reader will surely agree that ***either*** the agreement between the dates provided by the Chronicle P and our revised timelines for the other named nations is purely "coincidental" and we have been *extraordinarily fortunate* in consequence, ***or*** they confirm the accuracy of the revised Egyptian, Hittite and Babylonian timelines because they are correct. Let the reader decide.

The "coincidence of dates" does not end there. We have already noted the fact that the dates for the last twenty Kassite kings determined absolutely that the 3rd dynasty ended in the year 714 B.C., and that, since the regnal year total for the dynasty began 576 years earlier (according to the *Babylonian King List A*), it followed that the dynasty began around the year 1290 B.C. We did not adjust our numbers in order to fit some preconceived schema. We had absolutely no choice in the matter. But once it was determined that the Kassite dynasty began around 1290 B.C. two further synchronisms appeared, again "coincidentally", one of which was mentioned at the conclusion of our previous paper. On the one hand there appeared, opposite the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta 1, a Kassite king named Kashtiliashu. These two kings are known to have engaged in a prolonged battle with one another, as recorded in the Assyrian Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (see Figure 2 below).

On the other hand, since the Kassite dynasty began around 1290 B.C., the conquest of Babylonia must have taken place during the reign of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (1305-1274 B.C.), as also diagrammed in our Figure 2. Again, merely by chance (?), there is evidence that enables us to synchronize the two kings. A glance at the Wikipedia article on the reign of Adad-nirari I informs us that this monarch "is the earliest Assyrian king whose annals survive in any detail". That is most fortunate, because these annals, combined with the few extant records related to the rule of his father Arik-den-ili (1317-1306 B.C.), inform us quite clearly that not

only did the Kassites *not inhabit* Babylonia during the reign of Arik-den-ili, but that they were present in Babylonia during Adad-nirari's time in office, threatening to extend their dominance into Assyria. We restrict our comments on this circumstance to a few quotes. In a later paper we will investigate the matter further.

Figure 2: Timeline of the earliest Kings of the Kassite Dynasty
(a copy of Figure 9 on page 46 of our 4th paper)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Adad-nirari I (1305-1274)
Shalmanezer I (1273-1244)
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Gandash (1290-1274)
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Kings of Assyria & Kassite Babylonia (3rd Dynasty of Babylon) in the time frame 1300-1155
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1260 1250 1240 1230 1220 1210 1200 1190 1180 1170 1160 1150 1140
Shalmanezer I (1273-1244)
Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207)
Ashur-Nirari III (1202 -1197)
Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1191-1179)
Ashur-dan I (1178-1133)
Ashur-nadin -apli (1206-1203)
Enlil-kudurri-user (1196-1192)
Kashtiliashu I (1261-1250)
Ushshi-(ashu) (1249-1242)
Abi-Rattash (est 1241-1236)
Tazigurumash (est. 1235-1230)
Kashtil-iashu II (est. 1229-1220)
(to be completed later)

The first of these details regarding the Kassites is forthcoming from the poorly attested annals of Arik-den-ili and from a chronicle related to his reign. From these sources it is determined that

> Arik-den-ili fought many battles against his eastern neighbours (the *Pre-Iranic* inhabitants of what was to become Persia), Turukku and Nigimhi, and all the chiefs of the (Zagros) mountains and highlands in the broad tracts of the Gutians, to subdue the nomadic tribes on Assyria's northern and eastern frontiers. The Gutians had been vassals of the Kassites who ruled in Babylon and may have acted as their agents.

The reader should ignore the final comment in the above paragraph, supplied by a contributor to the Wikipedia article on Arik-den-ili, who assumes that the Kassites were ruling Babylonia all the while that Arik-den-ili was battling Elamite tribes in the Zagros region east of Babylonia. That contributor needs to explain to this writer precisely what military strategy is being

employed by the Assyrian king, leading his armies hundreds of miles into the Zagros mountain region to battle Gutians, allies of the Kassites, while the warlike Kassites themselves supposedly inhabit Babylonia, only a few dozen miles south of the Assyrian capital of Nineveh. Only one conclusion can reasonably follow from the details regarding the Assyrian raids into the Zagros region. The Gutians and the Kassites have yet to leave their homeland. Though the Kassites are not mentioned by name as opponents of Arik-den-ili in his Zagros raids, he apparently did encounter them, and suffered extensive losses as a consequence, this according to his son. In that same Wikipedia article quoted above we learn that Adad-nirari (I) lamented in a later epic that his father "could not rectify the calamities inflicted by the army of the king of the Kassite land". Under no circumstance can the "king of the **Kassite land**" in this quote be a reference to the Kassites as overlords of Karduniash.

By the time of Adad-nirari however, the situation has changed. Numerous inscriptions exist describing Adad-nirari I as victorious over the Kassites, from which we conclude that the Kassites have recently invaded, conquered, and are presently occupying Karduniash and had also attempted to overrun Assyria. Apart from these few inscriptions, however, we are not supplied details either related to the Kassite invasion and conquest of Babylonia, nor of the conflict between the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I and the Kassite king Gandash, his likely opponent.

Traditional scholars will vehemently disagree with our identification of the Babylonian opponent of Adad-nirari I, citing "proof" from the *Synchronistic History*, the *Adad-nirari Epic*, and the *Tukulti-Ninurta Epic*, that Adad-Nirari I defended Assyria against a Babylonian army led by Nazi-Maruttash, the Kassite king who was his contemporary in the traditional timetable (see Figure 1 on page 2 of our 4th paper). We caution the reader to be extremely careful when reading details concerning this conflict. In our 3rd paper we commented on the unreliability of the *Synchronistic History* generally, and the Adad-nirari reference was cited as an alteration to the text made by Assyrian scribes in the days of Ashurbanipal. The *Adad-nirari epic* exists in four extremely badly damaged tablets and though it does mention both an Assyrian king Adad-nirari and a Babylonian king Nazi-Maruttash, it dates almost certainly from the 9th century and appears to condemn the military aspirations of Nazi-Maruttash (868-843 B.C.) as being in conflict with a preexisting treaty between Assyria and Babylonia forged by Adad-nirari II (912-891 B.C.). And the reference to a conflict between Adad-nirari and Nazi-Maruttash in the *Tukulti-Ninurta epic* is an anomaly, no matter whether the explanation is provided by ourselves, or by the traditional history. The epic itself describes a conflict between Tukulti-ninurta I (1243-1207 B.C.) and a king named Kashtiliashu, the conflict supposedly caused by Kashtiliashu violating the terms of a treaty between Assyria and Babylonia. The reference to a battle involving an Assyrian king Adad-Nirari and Nazi-Maruttash, also involving a violated treaty, is apparently being used as an illustration. In the *traditional history* the Adad-nirari I / Nazi-Maruttash incident must be dated approximately 75 years earlier than the Tukulti-ninurta I/Kashtiliashu conflict. In the revised history it must involve Adad-nirari II, and be identified as

precisely the same incident described in the Adad-nirari epic mentioned above, which took place almost four hundred years later. We assume that this reference was added to an existing copy of the Tukulti-ninurta epic as that document was being edited five hundred years after it was originally composed. Support for that assumption comes from the document itself, since this copy of the Tukulti-Ninurta epic bears the imprint of the library of the 7th century Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, and is clearly a copy of the epic as edited by 7th century scribes. These scribes would be well aware of the Nazi-Maruttash treaty violation mentioned in the Adad-nirari epic, which we have argued described an event that took place less than 200 years prior. Indeed, the scribes of Ashurbanipal's time were also editors of the Adad-nirari epic, which bears the identical imprint of the Ashurbanipal library. The interested reader can find a brief discussion of all three of the documents discussed above in sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 on pages 194-197 of the recent monograph by Mary Frazer.

C. Argument based on the "paucity of 9th dynasty" and "abundance of 3rd dynasty" documentation.

In spite of the evidence brought forward thus far, proving beyond question that the Kassite dynasty must be dated in the time frame 1290-714 B.C., we anticipate hearing the following retort. "If two dynasties of kings are ruling/governing the same country at precisely the same time, surely there must exist a multitude of documents that demonstrate conclusively their co-existence". To which we reply – not so. It should be understood at the outset that we do not anticipate finding many direct synchronisms between the Kassite kings and their vassals in Babylonia, this for several reasons.

1) In the first place there exist only a handful of Babylonian documents which actually contain the names of the vassal kings. As we will note momentarily, the vast majority of the business affairs of the country were conducted exclusively in the name of the Kassite overlords, who maintained throughout this time frame a governmental base in Nippur, and from the time of Kurigalzu II through to the end of the dynasty, a military base in Dur-Kurigalzu. The names of the vassal "kings of Babylon" were never added to economic texts, and almost never to legal documents, with the sole exception of the infrequent kudurrus (boundary stones) bearing their names. Only exceptionally were they ever named in connection with military operations. This is not a surprising development for the revised history. A similar situation prevailed in Egypt, where, as mentioned earlier, the 26th Saite dynasty vassal kings governed Egypt for 138 years on behalf of the absentee Persian overlords. In close to four hundred pages of argument we proved their coexistence, but not once did we encounter a document that clearly referenced contemporary kings of the two nations in the same breath. We would have expected nothing else in the Babylonian situation, though in theory this should make it all but impossible to prove, based on native documentation, our contention that the Kassite kings ruled Babylonia in the years 1290-714. Or does it?

Upon reflection, the prevailing situation actually argues strongly that we are correct, not directly by arguing that the Kassite kings flourished in the years 1290-714 B.C., but indirectly by arguing that their floruit was not in the years 1731-1155 as claimed by the traditional history. The preponderance of documentation attesting the activity of the Kassites kings versus the few documents produced by the 4th to 9th dynasty "kings of Babylon", who flourished in the years 1155-732, is so overwhelming that any objective scholar will have difficulty arguing the case that both of these groups of kings were the sole, independent rulers of Babylonia, and more so considering that the Kassites ruled in the earlier of the time periods. A priori, should we not expect native documentation to decrease the further back in time we reach.

We have one question to ask devotees of the traditional Babylonian history. How is it that the 2nd millennium Kassite kingdom is literally flooded with signed documents, whereas its successor, the 4th -9th dynasty "kings of Babylon", who flourished in the 1st millennium, a time when civilization was emerging from centuries of darkness in all other Near Eastern countries, is apparently just beginning to endure a "dark age"? We underscore this argument by pointing out more precisely the disparity that exists between the documentation attesting the activity of the hypothetical 2nd millennium Kassites versus that which informs the actions of the 1st millennium, dynasty 4-9, "kings of Babylon". For this we turn to J.A. Brinkman, one of the most informed 20th/21st century authorities on the source materials for Babylonian history. In the preface to his massive "*Materials and Studies for Kassite History*" (1976), which he completed a decade after publishing his epic "*A political history of post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.*" (1968), he states:

> In an earlier work I dealt at length with the political history of Babylonia between the fall of the Kassite dynasty (middle of the twelfth century B.C. and the death of Shalmaneser V (722 B.C.). Because there were few written sources available for reconstructing the history of those four centuries, the materials could be gathered and discussed in relatively comprehensive fashion within a few hundred pages.
>
> The period of the Kassite dynasty, though it covers a comparable span of time, presents different problems. Most formidable is the bulk of contemporary native documentation, which is ***seventy-five times larger*** than that for the succeeding period. Less than 10 percent of this enormous corpus has been published, and publications in various stages of preparation will not alter this figure appreciably. (emphasis added) (p. vii)

To convert that statistic from a percentage into actual numbers we quote from Brinkman's footnote to the "seventy-five times larger" statement.

> In round numbers, the Kassite period offers more than 12,000 known primary documents from Babylonia, as opposed to approximately 160 for the Post-Kassite era (including documents published or discovered since PKB was published. (p. vii, note 3)

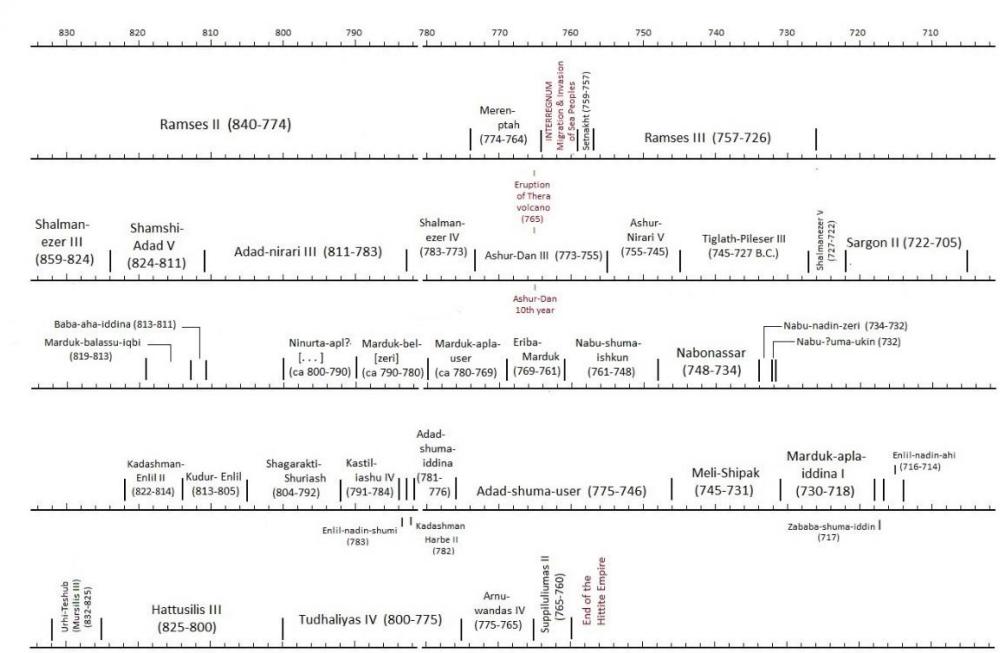
Of the 12,000 primary documents only about fifteen hundred had been published by the year 1976.

We dare to venture here an opinion, namely, that this scenario is not just unlikely, it is impossible. No impartial scholar would dare argue that excavated documentation attesting the activity of 2nd millennium occupants in any country on earth could possibly outnumber those of 1st millennium occupants, much less in the ratio of 75:1. On the contrary, assuming the accuracy of our thesis that the Kassite overlords ruled Babylonia primarily in the 1st millennium, leaving the day-to-day governing of the country to native kings, we have absolutely no problem with Brinkman's data. What else but a dark age should result when 75 out of every group of 76 1st millennium documents is removed from its rightful context and assigned to the 2nd millennium? And finally:

D. Argument that the mid-8th century sequence of Babylonian natural disasters, and "mass migrations" of marauding foreigners, agrees perfectly with our placement of the Egyptian and Hittite timelines, and is at least consistent with our thesis that the 3rd dynasty king Adad-shuma-user (775-746 B.C.) and the 9th dynasty kings Ariba-Marduk (769-761 B.C.) and Nabu-shuma-ishkun (761-748 B.C.) were contemporaries.

At long last we are ready to begin adding the dynasty 4-9 kings to our timelines, beginning in this paper with the 8th century, 9th dynasty kings. The result is shown in our Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Revised History Timeline showing the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia in the time frame 814-714 B.C. (with the addition of the vassal "kings of Babylon" of the 9th dynasty added) [adapted from Figure 6 on page 13 of paper #2)



It needs to be mentioned again at the outset of this discussion that the positioning of the late 9th dynasty vassal kings in the 8th century is not in question. Brinkman has scrupulously analyzed the 4th - 9th dynasty kings and itemized all the evidence firmly linking fourteen of them with eight different Assyrian kings in the 11th through the 8th centuries. The approximate dates for the others can be interpolated with reasonable precision. In his "*A political history of post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.*" (1968)" he outlines his approach to dating these kings.

> Our first step in establishing an absolute chronology for Post-Kassite Babylonia will be to collect and analyze all the direct synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian rulers of the period. These synchronisms are furnished by a variety of sources: (1) letters or treaties between the kings of the two countries, (2) annals of Assyrian kings which mention contemporary Babylonian rulers, and (3) later chronicles, both Babylonian and Assyrian, describing events in Mesopotamia as taking place during the reigns of two identified, contemporary kings. Synchronistic kinglists, for reason of style discussed in the first chapter, are not sufficiently accurate to be used in exact calculations of this type. (p. 69)

Conspicuous by its absence is Brinkman's use of many, if any, contemporary Babylonian documents. As described in our previous point, they simply do not exist.

The dates in our Figure 3 for the 8th dynasty "kings of Babylon" are provisional, and vary slightly among the various sources. To be consistent we have employed the dates provided in the Wikipedia "List of kings of Babylon", though we will argue that at minimum the dates for one king (Eriba-Marduk) need to be altered slightly. We have also included in our Figure 3 the names and dates for two 9th century kings, Marduk-balassu-iqbi and Baba-aha-iddina, only because the chart we adapted to produce Figure 3 began in the year 830, spanning the years when they reigned. Those two kings will be discussed in our next paper, which will document the "kings of Babylon" who ruled from the mid-10th through to the end of the 9th century. The two 9th century kings in turn are followed by a gap of approximately a dozen years, generally referred to as an interregnum, during which five nameless ephemeral kings supposedly governed the country, following a brief "kingless" period. Then follow three "kings of Babylon" whose reigns, though substantial in length, produced almost nothing in terms of documentation - Ninurta-apla-X (800-790), Marduk-bel-zeri (790-780), and Marduk-apla-usur (780-769). We leave it to the reader to peruse the extremely brief Wikipedia articles related to these kings.

It goes without saying that, if nothing else, this chaotic time strengthens our claim that the Kassites are still firmly in control of Babylonia. As we will see in our next paper, Babylonia in the 9th century was in almost constant conflict with their Assyrian neighbors to the north. Assyrian aggression continued unabated through the 8th century. Which leads us to ask two pertinent questions: (1) What prevented the Assyrian kings, those who ruled during the "interregnum" which ended the 9th century, and during the first three decades of the 8th century, when Babylonia was governed by what appears to be three weak "kings of Babylon" in succession, from simply overrunning their southern neighbor? And (2) Where is the

documentation that ought to inform these forty years? We have already answered the second question. An overwhelming abundance of documentation, all in the name of the Kassite overlords, has been wrongly credited by modern scholars to a fictional 2nd millennium Kassite Dynasty. And our answer to the first question is equally apparent. Seven strong Kassite kings, from the later years of Kudur-Enlil to the early years of the reign of Adad-shuma-usur, overlap the time frame under consideration, as the reader can see in our Figure 3 chart. A Kassite garrison was likely quartered in Dur-Kurigalzu throughout this time frame, keeping the Assyrians at bay.

Circumstances changed for Babylon in the middle years of the 8th century as three strong kings in succession ruled the country. The kings of both countries were occupied instead with dealing with a series of natural disasters, including mass starvation, disease, revolt, and the infiltration of warlike migrants, which combined to provide a reprieve from the threat of military aggression on the part of both countries. In a moment we will examine the reigns of Eriba-Marduk, Nabu-shuma-ishkun, and Nabu-Nasir (better known as Nabonassar, the Anglicized form of his name). But we should first dispense with the final two kings of the 9th dynasty, and then briefly turn our attention to Assyria in order to provide some context for our discussion of the three remaining Babylonian kings.

Again we leave it to the reader to examine the Wikipedia summaries of the brief reigns of Nabu-nadin-zeri (734-732) and Nabu-shuma-ukin II (732), the penultimate and ultimate 9th dynasty Babylonian kings respectively. Those articles inform us that immediately following the death of Nabonassar Babylonia was overrun by the powerful Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III, and later again by Shalmaneser V, both of whom claimed the title “king of Babylon”, and are recorded as such by modern scholars, though we doubt that they actually governed the country. And since several native Babylonians claim to have ruled Babylonia through to the conclusion of the Kassite period in 714 B.C., including Nabu-mukin-zeri, (729) and Marduk-apla-iddina II (722-710), we assume that at no time was Babylon lacking a native Babylonian governor/king during the Kassite period. The reign of the latter king, better known by his biblical title “Merodoch-Baladan, son of Baladan”, we have already discussed. His reign in Babylon spanned the 714 B.C. end of the Kassite period, and the consequent removal of the Kassite occupation force. This in turn gave the Assyrians ready access to invade, conquer, and rule their southern neighbor, save for a brief rebellion by Marduk-apla-iddina II in 703 and a brief four year coup-d’etat by the Elamite usurpers Nergal-ushezib and Mushezib-Marduk in the years 694-689 B.C. Babylon thereafter became a province of Assyria until reconquered in 626 B.C. by Nabopolassar, the founder of the powerful, though short-lived neo-Babylonian Empire.

Our intent in the balance of this paper is to provide the argument promised in the heading of this 4th section, namely, “Argument that the mid-8th century sequence of Babylonian natural disasters, and “mass migrations” of marauding foreigners, agrees perfectly with our placement of the Egyptian and Hittite timelines, and is at least consistent with our thesis that the 3rd dynasty Kassite king Adad-shuma-user (775-746 B.C.), and the 9th dynasty “kings of Babylon”

Ariba-Marduk (769-761 B.C.) and Nabu-shuma-ishkun (761-748 B.C.), were contemporaries. But the argument will be meaningless unless we first explain the significance of the 765 B.C. date highlighted at the top of our Figure 3 chart. Those readers who have read the 3rd Book of our Series will hardly need an explanation, but for the sake of others we need to provide a brief review. And the best way to do that is to describe briefly how that date relates to the Assyrian king Ashur-Dan III, whose reign (773-755 B.C.) overlaps that 765 B.C. date, just as does the reign of Eriba-Marduk (769-761 B.C.) in Babylon.

The Situation in Assyria

In chapters 5 & 6 of the 3rd Book in our Displaced Dynasties Series we argued at length that the date 765 B.C. is highly significant. In that year the volcanic island of Santorini/Thera, north of Crete, blew apart, an explosion that filled the atmosphere with thousands of tons of molten ash which fell indiscriminately on population centers within hundreds of miles of the island location, with predictable results, including not only the mass destruction of human life but the widespread decimation of livestock and crops. Massive tidal waves were spawned which reached as far as Syria, hundreds of miles to the east, where, according to the book of Amos, 90% of the population died. The atmosphere, choked by ash, obliterated the sun, turning day into night. For years following, the atmospheric pollution, which gave rise to acidic rains and diffused sunlight did not diminish sufficiently to allow crops to mature. Mass starvation was the result, and hordes of migrants roamed the Mediterranean coast in search of food. In scholarly circles these migrants are referred to as "Sea Peoples", though the cause of their wanderings has remained a mystery for scholars to this day. In some locales the infiltration of these starving masses could hardly be distinguished from a military invasion. Local populations were ruthlessly massacred as starving migrants foraged for food, no doubt accompanied by a criminal element seeking pillage. The Mycenean Greeks invaded Troy. The Hittites succumbed to invading masses from the Mediterranean, possibly Cyprus. The 19th dynasty of Egypt ended with the arrival in the Egyptian delta of a veritable armada of "Sea Peoples", as wave after wave of sea-borne migrants arrived over a period of a half dozen years.

The date of the Santorini event, as described in our Book 3, was a necessary consequence of the hundreds of pages of research that led up to it in the first two books of the Series and the preceding hundred pages of book 3. Our revised timelines for Egypt and Hatti are entirely dependent on the accuracy of the dating of this unprecedented eruption. ***It follows that every strand of evidence we can produce to substantiate the accuracy of our portrayal of the Santorini eruption, serves to argue for the accuracy of our revised timelines. The reliability of these timelines, in turn, are essential in arguing our case that the Kassites belong to the 1st millennium, not the 2nd. For that reason alone we want to include Babylonia, and to a lesser extent Assyria, in our discussion of the Santorini eruption and its attendant consequences.*** In our 3rd Book, in a section entitled "Endless Night in Assyria" (pages 128-132) we have already touched on the situation in Assyria. But that discussion was brief, and was primarily concerned

with the mention of a supposed eclipse of the sun that took place in the 10th year of the Assyrian king Ashur-Dan. In Book 3 we were concerned only with the dating of the eruption and the obstruction of sunlight that followed, but here we will say a few words concerning the ensuing famine and consequent social unrest.

Prior to looking at what transpired in Assyria we need to remind the reader of several technical issues. 1) In the first place we note the fact that the dates we have assigned to the Assyrian kings in our Figure 3 were adopted from the Wikipedia article entitled "List of Assyrian Kings". If they are marginally incorrect then at minimum we need to point out that fact. 2) We remind the reader that the Assyrian civil year began in the Spring, with the arrival of the month Nissan (March/April) and it ended just prior to the beginning of Nissan in the following calendar year. 3) We also need to explain briefly, for readers unfamiliar with the Assyrian and Babylonian calendars, that both nations followed what is termed an "accession year" or "post-dating" system. According to this system, if an Assyrian king died after the beginning of the Assyrian year, that entire year was credited to him as his last, and his successor's 1st official year did not begin until the full year had run its course. The intervening months were referred to in official documents as the new king's "accession year". Thus, assuming that Shalmanezer IV died in the fall of 772 B.C., as many scholars believe, his last year would be recorded as 772-771 in scholarly literature, and the 1st official year of Ashur-Dan III, his successor, would run from Nissan 771 - Nissan 770, his second year from Nissan 770 - Nissan 769, and so on. In this scenario the 9th official year of Ashur-Dan III would span the time frame Nissan 763 to Nissan 762 (or 763/762). The situation just described is depicted in our Table 1 on the following page. And finally, 4) The Assyrians assigned the name of a different government official to each year in their civil calendar for reference purposes. This unique name, or eponym, is known for most of the years in the neo-Assyrian time frame, and lists of these names were compiled by the ancients and have been published by 20th and 21st century scholars. Some of these Eponym Lists merely provide the name associated with the year, while others also add a few words describing a single event, or multiple significant events, that took place during that year. Below, in our Table 1, we list one such Eponym List, and note that in the 9th year of Ashur-Dan III, in the eponymy of Bur-Saggale, in the month of Simanu (May/June), an obstruction of the sun took place in Assyria and a "plague" also occurred. And since astronomers are able to determine that on June 15 in the year 763 B.C. a partial eclipse of the sun took place in Assyria, that eclipse seems to correspond to the "obstruction of the sun" in the eponymy of Bur-Saggale, the governor of the Assyrian province of Guzana. Based solely on that information the 9th official year of Ashur-Dan is dated in the calendar year 763-762 B.C. and the entire Assyrian pantheon of kings is thereby assigned absolute dates. The above comments clearly describe the viewpoint of the scholar (or scholars) who added the calendar dates (green print) to the Eponym List being duplicated in Figure 1.

Table 1: The Neo-Assyrian Eponym List: Sun obstructed in 763 B.C.
(necessary dating if the Bur-Saggale eponym year is the ninth official year of Ashur-Dan III and the "obstruction of the sun" in that year refers to the June 15, 763 eclipse)

[772/771] During the eponymy of Aššur-bela-usur, governor of Kalhu, campaign against Hatarikka.

Ten years, Šalmaneser, king of Assyria. [who died in 772 B.C.]

[771/770] During the eponymy of Aššur-dan [III], king of Assyria, campaign against Gananati.
[770/769] During the eponymy of Šamši-ilu, the commander in chief, campaign against Marad.
[769/768] During the eponymy of B&#65533;l-ilaya, governor of Arrapha, campaign against Itu'a.
[768/767] During the eponymy of Aplaya, governor of Mazamua, the king stayed in the land.
[767/766] During the eponymy of Qurdi-Aššur, governor of Ahizuhina, campaign against Gananati.
[766/765] During the eponymy of Mušallim-Inurta, governor of Tille, campaign against Media.
[765/764] During the eponymy of Inurta-mukin-niši, governor of Habruri, campaign against Hatarikka; plague.
[764/763] During the eponymy of Sidqi-ilu, governor of Tušhan, the king stayed in the land.

[763/762] During the eponymy of Bur-Saggale, governor of Guzana, revolt in Libbi-ali; in Simanu eclipse of the sun [15 June 763].
[762/761] During the eponymy of Tab-b&#65533;lu, governor of Amedi, revolt in Libbi-ali.
[761/760] During the eponymy of Nab&#65533;-mukin-apli, governor of Nineveh, revolt in Arrapha.
[760/759] During the eponymy of La-qipu, governor of Kalizi, revolt in Arrapha.
[759/758] During the eponymy of Pan-Aššur-lamur, governor of Arbela, revolt in Guzana; plague.

We should add a few remarks concerning our Table 1 as it relates to our Figure 3 chart. Table 1 is clearly referencing an Eponym List in which the eponymy of Bur-Saggale is preceded by eight other eponym years in the reign of Ashur-Dan III. That scenario demands that 1) the supposed "eclipse of the sun" should be referenced as taking place during the 9th year of Ashur-Dan, and that 2) the death of Shalmanezer IV and the beginning of the reign of Ashur-Dan III should be dated to the year 772 B.C. The observant reader will already have noted that in our Figure 3 we use the alternate figures "773 B.C." for the death of Shalmanezer IV and "10th year" for the eponymy of Bur–Saggale. We employ those numbers simply because they are the ones most frequently encountered in scholarly literature. The only possible explanation for the discrepancy is that the alternative numbers are derived from an Eponym List (or Lists) that includes an additional eponym year following the eponymy of Ashur-Dan III (the first official year) and preceding the eponymy of Bur-Saggale, which would then be the 10th official year of Ashur-Dan. We confess that the matter has not been investigated further, largely because, in the final analysis, we do not believe that Shalmanezer IV died either in 772 B.C. or in 773 B.C., but rather in 774 B.C. Clearly an explanation is in order. And for that reason we have duplicated our Table 1, increased all of the dates by two years, and included the revised Eponym List as our Table 2, shown on the following page.

A brief explanation is necessary to explain our addition of two years to our Table 1 chart, lest the critics needlessly cry foul. We do not believe for a moment that the Bur-Saggale event was an eclipse of the sun, and we do not believe it took place in 763 B.C., this for several reasons, namely,

1) the Assyrian text does not state that there was an eclipse of the sun, a relatively commonplace event that would typically be described differently in Assyrian documents. Here the text says only that "the sun was obscured";

2) in recent years it has been determined that the June 763 B.C. eclipse was only partial, at maximum obscuring 85% of the sun, which would merely dim the daytime sky, hardly an event worth mentioning as significant, much less as one of the most noteworthy events of the year. More recently still it has been determined that the limits of visibility of this eclipse ended hundreds of miles north of Assyria. The eclipse path was restricted to Scandanavia and northern Russia. Thank God for technology. If the reader wishes, he can link to the map drawn by Xavier M. Jubier and published on the NASA Eclipse Web Site. Simply move the cursor over top of northern Iraq and click, to discover that the eclipse of June 16, 763 B.C. was not even visible in Assyria!

3) in the cuneiform text a line is drawn preceding the mention of the Bur-Saggale eponym year, an otherwise unprecedented occurrence, since lines were typically used in the text to separate the death of one king from the beginning of the reign of his successor, the beginning of a new era, so to speak;

Table 2: The Neo-Assyrian Eponym List: Sun obstructed in 765 B.C.

(necessary dating if the Bur-Saggale eponym year is the ninth official year of Ashur-Dan III and the "obstruction" of the sun in that year refers to the blockage of sunlight caused by ash from the 765 B.C. Santorini eruption)

[774/773] During the eponymy of Aššur-bela-usur, governor of Kalhu, campaign against Hatarikka.

Ten years, Šalmaneser, king of Assyria. [who died in 774 B.C.]

[773/772] During the eponymy of Aššur-dan [III], king of Assyria, campaign against Gananati.
[772/771] During the eponymy of Šamši-ilu, the commander in chief, campaign against Marad.
[771/770] During the eponymy of B[illegible]l-ilaya, governor of Arrapha, campaign against Itu'a.
[770/769] During the eponymy of Aplaya, governor of Mazamua, the king stayed in the land.
[769/768] During the eponymy of Qurdi-Aššur, governor of Ahizuhina, campaign against Gananati.
[768/767] During the eponymy of Mušallim-Inurta, governor of Tille, campaign against Media.
[767/766] During the eponymy of Inurta-mukin-niši, governor of Habruri, campaign against Hatarikka; plague.
[766/765] During the eponymy of Sidqi-ilu, governor of Tušhan, the king stayed in the land.

[765/764] During the eponymy of Bur-Saggale, governor of Guzana, revolt in Libbi-ali; in Simanu (May/June) obstruction of the sun.
[764/763] During the eponymy of Tab-b[illegible]lu, governor of Amedi, revolt in Libbi-ali.
[763/762] During the eponymy of Nab[illegible]-mukin-apli, governor of Nineveh, revolt in Arrapha.
[762/761] During the eponymy of La-qipu, governor of Kalizi, revolt in Arrapha.
[761/760] During the eponymy of Pan-Aššur-lamur, governor of Arbela, revolt in Guzana; plague.

4) And finally, the mention of an "obscured sun" is accompanied by the mention of a revolt in the district of Libbi-ali, leaving open the possibility that the events are somehow related. It is also significant that in six of the eight years preceding this pivotal year Ashur-Dan had conducted his routine yearly military campaign, giving the impression that all was well in the land. The only hint of possible trouble was the fact that in his 4th and 8th official years the campaign was postponed and in his year 7 there was a "plague". On the other hand, the Bur-Saggale year initiated a string of years in which the land experienced either "revolt" or "plague" or both, suggesting, if it doesn't prove, that the obscured sun somehow caused the following chaos. While we are in danger of being accused of either the "*cum hoc ergo propter hoc*" or "*post hoc ergo propter hoc*" fallacies, there are other reasons for arguing here that the obscured sun was the likely "cause" of the following turmoil. Some of these reasons will become evident as we proceed.

We are also informed from other sources that not only "revolt" and "plague" followed the Bur-Saggale event. The renowned biblical scholar Donald J. Wiseman, in his *Tyndall Biblical Archaeology Lecture* of 1977 entitled Jonah's Nineveh, has remarked on the fact that famine also followed the obstructed sun that occurred that year. On page 50 of that published lecture, speaking about Jonah's visit to Nineveh and his attempt to secure the repentance of that country, he states:

> Famine and epidemics were another sign of divine wrath which could lead to mass repentance and mourning to avert them… It may be no coincidence that *among the references to the reign of Aššur-dān III of Assyria in the eponym lists are several to famine (mutanu) whether at the beginning and end of, or throughout, a period of seven years*. These notices are in addition to those indicating the total solar eclipse and other upheavals and revolts. (italics added)

Later on that same page Wiseman adds:

> As has been shown, in the reign of … Aššur-dān III there was famine in 765, recurring in, or lasting to, 759 B.C. In 763 there occurred the ominous solar eclipse. All this gave rise to rebellions in various cities until 758 B.C. when the king went to Guzana (Gozan) and thereafter stayed for two years quietly in his land. It may be that the 'calamity and violence' of Jonah 3:8 could refer to such a time, for his initial call had been to 'Go to Nineveh and make a proclamation about it, for their calamity has come to my notice' (1:2).

Wiseman does not reference the documents from which he derives the famine references, but since dates are provided it is likely he is alluding to one or more of the seven other major eponym lists that are known to exist, to which this author does not have ready access. As for those dates, it goes without saying that all dates mentioned by Wiseman need to be increased by two years, just as we have done in our Table 2. The famine began in 767 and continued for seven years, to 761. And since the references to famine are in the same years as the references to revolts we can at least suggest the possibility, if not the probability, that the famine was a major contributor to the "revolts".

If, for the reasons stated, the Bur-Saggale event has nothing to do with an eclipse, but is instead an event far more ominous and forboding, then what is happening. In our Book 3 discussion of the event we stated our opinion. In 765 B.C. the island of Santorini exploded, literally vaporizing the entire mountain island, filling the troposphere and very likely the stratosphere with molten ash. This ash would quickly be transported by the prevailing winds for thousands of miles. Ash from volcanic explosions is known to trigger violent rains which are toxic/acidic, and over months much of the ash in lower levels (the troposphere) would fall to the earth. In association with the acidic rain the falling ash would destroy crops, poison livestock, and cause widespread starvation. Disease would be rampant in the human population, and rebels seeking food (and plunder generally) would be commonplace. Let the reader do a google search of the documented aftermath of even mild eruptions in the 21st century, and multiply the effects ten or a hundred fold to account for the fact that the Santorini explosion was, without doubt, one of the most violent eruptions in human history.

Ash in the stratosphere, depending in part on the size and density of the particles, might well remain in place for years, perhaps for decades, at least partially obscuring the sun. In Assyria, in the days immediately following the Santorini explosion, we believe day turned to night in the span of hours, the beginning of an era of obstructed sunlight and social chaos, warranting mention of the event in the annals of the eponym year of Bur-Saggale, and prompting the drawing of a line preceding that date in the Assyrian Eponym list.

The critic will no doubt comment on the fact that plague is recorded in the eponym list in Ashur-Dan's 7th year and the absence of campaigns in his 4th and 8th years, suggesting that some civil unrest must have preceded the Santorini eruption by a number of years. But in our Book 3 discussion we point out the fact that less severe eruptions of Santorini almost certainly occurred years and perhaps decades before the 765 B.C. explosion. These would have lent credence to the preaching of the prophet Jonah, sent by the God of Israel to warn Nineveh concerning the coming storm. Jonah's ministry overlapped the reign of Jereboam II (ca 786-746) and his visit to Nineveh may tentatively be dated around 770 B.C., though it may well have been later, perhaps even after the 1st wave of ash arrived to do its damage. It is no doubt significant that the message from the prophet anticipated the almost immediate arrival of disaster. "Yet forty days and Nineveh will be overthrown" (Jonah 3:4) And what was the disaster threatened by Jonah. The text of the prophetic book suggests that the lives of tens of thousands of innocent Ninevites were at stake, and were subsequently spared. Based on what transpired in Babylonia, where famine, disease/plague and revolt also took place, but on an increased scale, accompanied by the influx of the Mesopotamian equivalent of the Mediterranean "Sea Peoples", we suggest that Assyria was simply spared the intensity of the named disasters. In Babylonia, as we shall see, a significant portion of the population did perish.

The Situation in Babylonia

Our interest in the balance of this section is with the final three 8th century "kings of Babylon" - Eriba-Marduk (769-761), Nabu-shuma-ishkun (761-748), and Nabonassar (748-734). And since absolutely no inscriptional material from their reigns links them directly to the Kassites, our argument is largely circumstantial, and is related entirely to the eruption of the volcanic mountain of Santorini/Thera in 765 B.C. and its disastrous consequences for the Babylonians.

Eriba-Marduk:

From the Wikipedia article related to Eriba-Marduk we learn three facts, namely, 1) that the highest attested date for his reign is his 9th year, 2) that early in his reign he was already occupied suppressing "incursions of nomads around Babylon and Borsippa, restoring fields and orchards to their former owners," and 3) though there are legal documents bearing his name, his only royal inscriptions are contained on two duck weights of little significance. Later tradition, however, credits this king with significant accomplishments and he is generally well regarded by posterity. We are interested in this king for a single reason. His dates (769-761 B.C.), though highly provisional, overlap the 765 B.C. date highlighted at the top of our Figure 3 chart, suggesting that his reign must have witnessed some of the chaos and trauma that was manifest in the Mediterranean arena, and it must also have shared in the famine, revolt, and "plague" that are documented in Assyria.

Already we have seen that in Assyria the famine and disease, with associated rebellion, began in 767 B.C. and continued almost unabated for seven years, ending in 761 B.C. or shortly thereafter. But Nineveh is only a few hundred miles from Babylon. There appears to be no good reason to distinguish the initial effects of the Santorini eruption on the two countries. Assuming that to be the case, the troubles for Eriba-Marduk likely also began around 767 B.C., his second official regnal year assuming his reign began in 769. But in view of his accomplishments, those on which his good reputation is based, it is likely that his reign began earlier than 769. Assuming it began only four year earlier (ca 773 B.C.), precisely where his reign began according to some scholars, and that the Santorini effects did not appear until 767 B.C. (his seventh year) we can readily explain why no inscription exists dated higher than his ninth year (765 B.C.), the date of the Santorini explosion. None were written. The turmoil in Babylon from that point on was so intense that all business ceased and the king was constantly in damage control.

Tentatively we leave the end of his reign as is (761 B.C.), though this date is cited as "speculative" in the Wikipedia article related to his successor Nabu-shuma-ishkun. If the date 761 B.C. remains as is, then all of the seven years of suffering endured by Assyria was experienced in Babylonia during the reign of Eriba-Marduk. But in Babylonia the trauma lasted longer, at least another half-dozen years, largely because Babylonia was more vulnerable to invasion by foreigners. For decades prior to 765 B.C. the Arameans / Suteans, semi-nomadic warlike migrants who inhabited the desert regions east of the Tigris and west of the Euphrates,

had been the nemesis of the “kings of Babylon”. With Babylonia weakened by seven years of famine, disease, and internal revolt, the time was ripe for these opportunistic groups, and other related tribes on the fringes of Babylonia, to further infiltrate the fertile crescent, ostensibly in search of food, but also intent on plunder. Though the famine was perhaps ending in Babylonia in 761 B.C., it was certainly not ended on the fringes of the desert. And so the rebellion, accompanied by the infiltration of foreigners, continued into the reign of Nabu-shuma-ishkun. But here we are getting ahead of ourselves. Contemporary documentation related to the seven years of famine, disease, and revolt is wanting in Babylonia, but fortunately one document composed in the aftermath of the devastation does survive, and it deserves extensive analysis. It is known to modern scholars as the Erra Epic (or the Epic of Erra and Ishum), and it paints a grim picture of the happenings in Babylonia.

The Erra Epic:

The Wikipedia article related to this document contains a summary of the Epic, brief, but adequate for our purposes here.

> **Erra** (sometimes called **Irra**) is an Akkadian plague god known from an 'epos’ [epic] of the eighth century BCE. Erra is the god of mayhem and pestilence who is responsible for periods of political confusion. In the epic that is given the modern title *Erra*, the writer Kabti-ilani-Marduk, a descendant, he says, of Dabibi, presents himself in a colophon following the text as simply the transcriber of a visionary dream in which Erra himself revealed the text.
>
> The poem opens with an invocation. The god Erra is sleeping fitfully … but is roused by his advisor Ishum and the Seven (*Sibitti* or *Sebetti*), who are the sons of heaven and earth—"champions without peer" is the repeated formula—and are each assigned a destructive destiny by Anu. Machinist and Sasson (1983) call them "personified weapons". The Sibitti call on Erra to lead the destruction of mankind. Išum tries to mollify Erra's wakened violence, to no avail. Foreign peoples invade Babylonia, but are struck down by plague. Even Marduk, the patron of Babylon, relinquishes his throne to Erra for a time. Tablets II and III are occupied with a debate between Erra and Išum. Erra goes to battle in Babylon, Sippar, Uruk, Dur-Kurigalzu and Der. The world is turned upside down: righteous and unrighteous are killed alike. Erra orders Išum to complete the work by defeating Babylon's enemies. Then the god withdraws to his own seat in Emeslam with the terrifying Seven, and mankind is saved. A propitiatory prayer ends the work.
>
> The poem must have been central to Babylonian culture: at least thirty-six copies have been recovered from five first-millennium sites—Ashur, Babylon, Nineveh, Sultantepe and Ur—more, even, as L. Cagni points out, than have been recovered of the *Epic of Gilgamesh*.

The Epic is sometimes referred to as a *Vaticinium ex eventu or post eventu (= prophecy after the fact).* The writer Kabti-ilani-Marduk tells his story through the lips of the gods Erra, Ishum, and Marduk, who, in the first 3 tablets, speak about what they intend to do, as if they are predicting the future, only to itemize in the 4th tablet what has been accomplished. Though we will summarize some of its main points, and quote a few relevant passages, it is recommended that the reader peruse the entire document, which unfortunately is quite lengthy, close to 700 lines. A reading copy is provided online here, and an annotated copy of select passages can be read

here (see chapter 2, entitled "The Poem of Erra and Ishum, a Babylonian Poet's View of War" by A.R. George (pp 39-72)

The Epic appears to have been written shortly after the events described, though, as expected, scholars disagree. They also disagree on when the events themselves took place. One of the better discussions of the subject, part of a review of the entire content of the Epic, can be read in Daniel Bodi's book entitled "The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra" (pp. 52-68). A google book preview copy is available online here, though unfortunately select pages are blocked out. In a section entitled "The Date and Historical Background of the Poem of Erra" (pp. 54-56) Bodi mentions what we consider to be the correct answer to the first problem. He summarizes very briefly the analysis of the Erra Epic by the Akkadian scholar W. Von Soden, published in 1971 in the 3rd volume of the journal *Ugarit Forschungen*. Von Soden was concerned only with the question of when the Epic was written, and his conclusion was undoubtedly close to being correct. His conclusion is summarized by Bodi on pages 55-56, where he states,

> *He (Von Soden) placed the date of its composition between the end of 765 and the beginning of 763 BCE, during the reign of Eriba-Marduk (769-761 BCE)*".

According to Bodi, Von Soden's opinion was based on a blending of "precise historical, archaeological, and astronomical data.

From time to time in the pages that follow we will contrast this epic with its nearest counterpart in the corpus of Near Eastern Literature, the prophetic book of Amos in the Hebrew Bible. As it turns out, both compositions deal with the aftermath of the Santorini volcanic eruption, Amos describing the situation in Syria, Kabti-ilani-Marduk describing what happened in Babylonia. In neither case is the eruption mentioned, and we suspect that the immediate cause of the resulting devastation was unknown to both authors. In their opinion all that matters is that the devastation results from the will of the god or gods, Yahweh (in the case of Amos) or Erra and Marduk (in the case of Kabti-ilani-Marduk).

While Von Soden identifies the time of composition of the epic poem as 765-763 B.C., and fails to say much regarding when the actions described in the narrative took place, nor whether they are real or imaginary, we can be more specific. We have already observed earlier, in our Figure 2, that in the years 767-761 B.C., the seventh through the 13th years of Ashur-Dan in Assyria, that plague, famine and revolt dominated life in Assyria. We expect that these same calamities were experienced in Babylonia during the same years, the final seven years of the reign of Eriba-Marduk. The Erra Epic was not written in the middle of this time frame as Von-Soden claims. It was probably written years later. The seven years from 767-761 are rather the years during which the events recorded in the Epic took place. Kabti-ilani-Marduk may well have been a spectator, witness to many of the events as they transpired. But events in that time frame were too traumatic to afford the leisure time to record them in narrative form.

One task remains for us in order to prove this dating hypothesis. If we are correct we ought to find reference in the Erra Epic to many, if not all of the hypothetical features of life in Assyria (and by extension to Babylonia) in the few years preceding and the five years following the explosion of the Thera volcano, north of Crete, in the year 765 B.C.

Obscured Sun

If we are correct, and the Erra epic describes the situation that prevailed in Babylonia in 765 B.C., in the immediate aftermath of the Santorini volcanic explosion, there should be a darkening of the sky, as ash, some of it perhaps still red hot, creeps over the land and begins its deadly indiscriminant assault on crops, livestock, and people alike. We do not have to look far in the epic to find reference to it. Near the middle of the first tablet Erra, the god of plague and pestilence, awakened to his task at the urging of the Seven, the warrior gods given him by Ea to assist in the destruction of Babylonia, seeks audience with and the assistance of Marduk, "king of the gods" in Babylon. Marduk, after a lengthy soliloquy in which he boastfully reviews his past achievements, says,

> (When) I rise from my dwelling, the regulation of heaven and earth will disintegrate,
> The waters will rise and sweep over the land,
> Bright day will turn to darkness, whirlwind will rise and the stars of heaven will be [hidden?]

Over a dozen lines later, at the very beginning of the second tablet, Marduk leaves his dwelling and enters an assembly of the Annuna gods. There, according to the epic

> Shamash [the Sun god] looked upon him and let his protective radiance fall … [i.e. the sunlight diminished in intensity)
> Sin looked everywhere, and did not leave the Netherworld.
> Ill winds rose and the bright daylight was turned to gloom.
> The clamor of the peoples throughout the land was stilled

The diminished sunlight in both of these sections cannot, under any circumstances, be interpreted as a reference to either an eclipse or a partial-eclipse. In the first quote it is also recorded that something almost simultaneously happened to the stars of heaven, leading us to supply the word "hidden" to the obscured section of text. In the second quote not only does the sun god Shamash lose her radiance, but the moon god Sin remains in the Underworld. In Babylonian mythology, once every lunar month, when the moon disappears from the sky [the so-called time of the "new moon"] Sin briefly visits the Netherworld where his function is to judge the dead, a task which is quickly followed by his return to his heavenly journey. Here it is claimed he did not return on schedule. We interpret that to mean that he could not be viewed in the "ash polluted" sky. How long that situation prevailed we are not told, but in our concluding section we will argue that the stars could not be clearly seen for upwards of seventeen years; the moon (or at least its reflected light) likely nowhere near that number.

Violent Tremors and Tsunamis

This is perhaps an appropriate place to comment on the reference, in the first Erra Epic section quoted above, to waters rising and sweeping over the land. This elicited memories in the mind of this author of the tidal waves created in the Eastern Mediterranean in the aftermath of the Santorini explosion [see the section entitled "Raash in Syria" on pages 124-127 in chapter 6 of our Book 3]. Those tidal waves, as described in the book of Amos in the Hebrew Bible, were enormous, carrying thousands of bodies high up the slope of Mount Herman, a hundred miles

inland. Those waves, of course, dissipated on the shores of the Mediterranean. But we wonder whether an earthquake might have been created in the Persian gulf by the upheaval of the earth in the Mediterranean. Five hundred miles from Santorini the land in Syria not only suffered from incoming tidal waves. It also shook violently, a shaking interpreted by all who experienced it as an earthquake, though the word employed in the early verses of the book of Amos, the Hebrew term *raash*, is best translated "shaking" (see raash). The shaking of the earth in Syria may well have triggered an accompanying earthquake, but the violent shaking was much more intense than that created by an underground techtonic event. The Syrian raash was so intense it was remembered vividly centuries later. Tentatively we might assume that a similar sequence of events may have played out in the northern reaches of the Persian gulf. The violent shaking of the earth triggered an earthquake, and that earthquake created the tidal waves that engulfed the Babylonian Sealand. The fact that the earth shook violently in Babylonia in 765 B.C. is not in question. At least according to the Erra Epic. Early in the 1st tablet it is recorded that when Anu was delegating tasks to the Seven "unrivalled" divine warriors assisting Erra, the fourth warrior is given his assignment:

> Let a mountain collapse when you present your fierce arms.

The collapse of a mountain suggests a violent shaking of the earth, either a direct result of the exploding Mediterranean island, or of a secondary earthquake in Mesopotamia resulting from such. In either case, there is also documentary evidence that such a "shaking" took place during the reign of Ashur-Dan. Wiseman, in the essay entitled Jonah's Nineveh that we quoted from earlier, notes the fact that

> Earthquakes are recorded at Nineveh in the time of Shalmaneser I, Aššur-rēša-iši, and for the month Siwan in the reign of Aššur-dan. (p. 48)

If the earth shook violently in Babylonia, it would certainly be felt in Nineveh, and interpreted as an earthquake, whether or not this was the cause. And if the event took place around the ninth year of Ashur-Dan in Assyria, that would date it to the year 765 B.C. Unfortunately Wiseman provides the month when it took place, not the year, and fails to note the source.

We should perhaps mention, in passing, the more remote possibility that a tsunami might have been triggered in some location closer to the Mediterranean volcanic eruption, whence it travelled hundreds, or even well over a thousand miles, until reaching the northern extremity of the Persian gulf, whence it overran the Sealand of Babylonia. A quick search of the internet here informs us that a tsunami created by even a relatively minor seismic event can travel enormous distances very rapidly. Predicting the results of one of the most powerful explosions the earth has ever experienced is unfortunately not possible.

Death of Livestock and Humans

In the book of Amos it is stated that 90% of the population of Syria died. In Babylonia the results may have been similar. Early in the Erra Epic it is stated that the task of the "terrible Seven" was to "massacre the black-headed folk", i.e. the Mesopotamians. Ea's instruction to the sixth of the seven gods was to "Go out everywhere (like the deluge) and spare no one" and the seventh, whom he charged with viperous venom, was ordered to "Slay whatever lives". To

Erra these seven are given as helpers, and Erra himself is directed "to **massacre the black-headed folk** and **fell the livestock**". This theme of human death caused by the actions of the god Erra and his Seven helpers runs throughout the narrative and does not need special mention, though some specific instances are described in the context of our discussion of "plague and famine" in the following section.

As for the livestock we note that the seventh and last of the Seven helpers was equipped with viperous venom in order to slay *whatever lives*. This task apparently included the killing of the livestock, which died, in our estimation, drinking the toxic rainwater, and eating the diseased and dying grasses and grains. The death of livestock is not mentioned often in the narrative, but the few accounts leave little doubt that they died in massive numbers, since the felling of livestock is singled out as one of the only two tasks specifically assigned to Erra.

The only other verses specifically focused on the death of livestock are located in the first tablet, where it is remarked that

> Lion and wolf are felling the livestock.
> The shepherd who cannot sleep day and night for the sake of his flocks, is calling upon you

There is, of course, an irony in these verses. Those who tended the dying livestock were calling out to Erra for help. But elsewhere, toward the end of the first tablet, Erra declares

> "I invade the range and take up my dwelling in the fold."

And his role within the fold is the destruction of the very livestock the shepherds are calling on him to heal. The attribution of the "felling of the livestock" to the "lion and wolf" is clearly a metaphor. Only a few verses prior Erra boasts, "I am the lion on earth."

<u>Crops destroyed</u>

Early in the initial tablet we are informed, albeit obliquely, that something is happening to the crops. As we might expect, Kabti-ilani-Marduk is unaware of the cause. There has certainly been sufficient rain, else its shortage should have been mentioned, and no observer would perceive that the (toxic) downpour might actually be causing the blight. Erra, the god responsible for disease, is invoked to heal the crops. The "beasts and creatures" that are taking over the land reserved for crops, are cited as evidence that Erra is not listening.

> Warrior Erra, why do you neglect the field for the city?
> The very beasts and creatures hold us in contempt.
> …
> Beasts are overrunning the meadows, life of the land,
> The farmer sobs bitterly for his field.

<u>Plague and Famine</u>

The critic may argue, correctly as it turns out, that in the Erra Epic there is no mention of plague, nor any mention of famine, key features in the Assyrian Eponym Lists in the years 767-

761 B.C., and because of the close proximity of the two countries, probably two of the most dominant features of the final seven years of the reign of Eriba-Marduk in Babylonia. But there are literally dozens of verses in which Erra himself claims responsibility for causing specific deaths, and Erra is known uniquely, according to the majority of scholars, as the god of "pestilence and plague". Others would claim that he is the "god of famine". What else would we expect as the agency of death forthcoming from the "plague god"/ "famine god" but plague and famine. Thus we interpret such verses as the following, placed in the lips of Erra toward the end of the fourth tablet, as references to those dying of starvation or disease:

> He who begot a son, saying.
> This is my son, when I have reared him, he will requite my pains.
> I will put that son to death, his father must bury him,
> Afterwards I will put that father to death, but he will have none to bury him.
> He who built a house saying
> This is my house, I built it for myself, I shall spend my leisure in it,
> On the day fate claims me, I shall fall asleep inside.
> I will put him to death and wreck his home,
> Afterwards though it be wreckage, I will give it to another.
> O warrior Erra, you have put the righteous man to death,
> You have put the unrighteous man to death,
> He who sinned against you, you put him to death
> He who did not sin against you, you put him to death,
> The high priest, assiduous with divine offerings, you put to death,
> The functionary who served the king you put to death,
> The old man on the doorstep you put to death,
> The young girls in the bedrooms you put to death,
> Even then you found no appeasement whatsoever!

To be sure, Erra is also a god of war, and in some instances in the Epic he is portrayed as the instigator of revolt. But in the majority of situations where Erra causes the death of humans, and warfare is not specifically named as the immediate cause, we can assume that disease or starvation are operative.

Revolt and the Incursion of Foreigners

Revolt was a constant theme during a seven year period in Assyria, beginning two years before the 765 B.C. "darkening of the sun" and ending five years later, this according to our Table 2. In Babylon those dates are identical to the last seven years of the reign of Eriba-Marduk. We suspect that the Erra Epic will mention "revolt" in Babylonia, though as we will observe in a moment, the Babylonian situation differs from that of Assyria in one key aspect. In the southern extremities of Mesopotamia the warfare is largely restricted attacks on Babylonian cities by Chaldean and other ethnic groups originating in the extreme south, and by semi-nomadic Aramean tribes bordering Babylonia, specifically the Sutean branch of that ethnic group. Revolt in Babylonia is mentioned specifically only once in the Erra Epic, though it is

implied elsewhere. At the beginning of tablet 4 we see Erra entering Babylon with the specific intent of stirring up trouble. We quote only a small portion of the relevant section of the Epic.

> O warrior Erra …
> You girded on your weaponry and entered Babylon.
> Inside Babylon, you spoke like a rabble-rouser, as if to take over the city,
> The citizenry of Babylon, like reeds in a thicket, had no one in charge, so they rallied around you
> He who knew nothing of weapons – his sword was drawn,
> He who knew nothing of archery – his bow was taut,
> He who knew nothing of fighting – set to the fray,
> He who knew nothing of wings – flew off like a bird.
> The cripple could surpass the fleet of foot, the weakling could overpower the strong.
> They give voice to gross insolence against the governor who provides for their holy places,
> With their own hands they blockaded the gate of Babylon, their lifeline,
> They have torched the sanctuaries of Babylon like marauders of the land,
> You [Erra] the vanguard, took their lead

And the theme continues for another forty or so verses

There follows a description of attacks on the cities of Babylon, Sippar, Uruk, and Der by the semi-nomadic Suteans, apparently motivated by the lack of food in their desert surroundings. And if famine and disease was the immediate cause of these incursions, then Erra, the god of plague and famine, was the ultimate cause. Indeed, in the case of Der, Erra is specifically singled out for rebuke by Ishtaran, the goddess of the city.

> Ishtaran responded thus,
> You[Erra] turned the city Der into a wasteland,
> You fractured her populace like reeds,
> You extinguished their clamor like the dying hiss of foam on the water's face!
> And as for me, you did not spare me, but have [given] me over to the Sutean nomads

It is the opinion of 21st century that not only the 4th tablet, but the entire Erra Epic, was composed to describe and explain the invasion of Babylonia by the nomads surrounding the country, primarily the Suteans, an Aramean tribe who are mentioned four times in the combined 4th and 5th tablets. The four cities specifically named as succumbing to these invading hordes – Babylon, which only recently has experienced a civil war, Sippar, Uruk and Der – have led scholars to the conclusion that the Erra Epic, though probably composed around 750 B.C., is not describing incidents that took place in that time frame. Rather, the author is looking back in time over three hundred years, and summarizing another Sutean invasion that took place in the reign of a 4th dynasty "king of Babylon" named Adad-apla-iddina. Since the readers of this essay may well encounter this viewpoint, and be persuaded by it, we take a moment to explain the error in this opinion. First let us hear from two sources where this "scholarly" understanding of the Erra Epic is presented, beginning with the influential *Cambridge Ancient History* III Part 1, where, on page 292 we read, following a discussion of a mid-8th century event:

> There is only one major work of literature whose composition may be dated with reasonable probability to this period: the Erra Epic. This piece, originally some seven hundred lines long, describes in theological terms one of the major historical themes of this 'dark age': the Sutian

> invasions in the late second and early first millennia. To explain the divine causality which permitted the Sutian tribesmen to irrupt into settled areas and to cause havoc in major cities such as Babylon, Sippar, **Dur-Kurigalzu**, Uruk, and Der, the author of the epic weaves the drama of the warrior-god Erra, his henchman Ishum, and the divine Sibitte (the 'Seven'). Erra persuades Marduk to leave his temple and have some of the paraphernalia of his statue cleaned. With Marduk's protective power no longer present, Erra and his warrior gods (and the Sutians, their earthly counterparts) decimate Babylonia. Eventually, with the land desolate, Erra is persuaded to relent, and the Sutian invasions draw to a close. Babylonia is promised a great future: the return of her scattered people, the prosperity of the fertile land, and the rise of a great king who will rule over all nations. (emphasis added)

And on page 211 of Lowell K. Handy, *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millenium*, we read:

> During the reign of Adad-apla-iddina (1069-1048), the former Kassite capital **Dur-Kurigalzu**, Der, Sippar and the southern Babylonian cities of Uruk and Nippur were plundered by Aramaean marauders. During the following century, famine, crop failure, repeated semi-nomadic incursions and the closing of the western Euphrates trade routes resulted in turbulent and even anarchic conditions within Babylonian cities, especially to the northwest. Grain prices are recorded at seven and one-half times the normal rate of exchange in the Bit-Abi-Rattash kudurru (986-954). In the same document, indications of irregular gathering of taxes signal a weak central authority, together with the protracted financial embarrassment of Arad-Sibitti, who was no less a personage than a Babylonian governor. The Babylonian New Year's Festival, a vital public legitimation of the king's authority and the attendant prosperity of the country, went unobserved fourteen times in the first half of the 10th century, several instances of which were attributed to Aramaean hostilities. Although the text of the Erra Epic was probably composed in the 8th century, the horrific disasters of the 11th and 10th centuries, such as the nomadic plundering of the cities and temples of Sippar and Der, are evoked as literary foils in the construction of a cosmic order that dissolves into chaos through the ambitions of a Babylonian god of warfare and pestilence. (emphasis added)

These comments hardly deserve to be addressed, since a perusal of the Erra Epic should tell the reader that an obscured sun during the day, obstructed moon and stars at night, tidal waves, quaking mountains, diseased and dying crops and livestock, not to speak of the decimation via a variety of sources (famine, disease/plague, civil war, invading marauders) of a large segment of the population of the country, have nothing in common with the events of the 11th and 10th centuries described by these two sources. We admit that Sutean raids occurred earlier in history, and famine is not unique to the 8th century, whether in Assyria or Babylonia. But what does that prove? And what would inspire an 8th century author to create an inordinately lengthy epic "to explain the divine causality" of the earlier times, or to evoke such times as "literary foils in the construction of a cosmic order that dissolves into chaos", whatever that means? And we wonder how Kabti-ilani-Marduk would even know about these earlier incidents, dated from two to three hundred years before he was born.

The reader will note that we have highlighted the name Dur-Kurigalzu in both quotations listed above, this for an obvious reason. It is assumed by both sources that late in the 2nd millennium

and early in the 1st millennium, the Suteans invaded Babylonia, and ravaged multiple cities, including Babylon, Der, Uruk, Sippur, Nippur, and Dur-Kurigalzu, the first four also named in the Erra Epic as cities invaded by the Suteans. The commonality of names is hardly surprising. Whatever would prompt the Suteans to invade the four named cities, plus two others, in the reign of Adad-apla-iddina (1069-1048) is probably the same reason they also chose to invade those four named cities in 765 or shortly thereafter. What is surprising is the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu, which according to our revised chronology did not even exist in the earlier time frame. Not only is it surprising, it is annoying, since it is not accurate. Scholars should be more careful in their statements. If Dur-Kurigalzu was invaded by Suteans in the reign of Adad-apla-iddina then the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty of Babylon did not overlap the 4th-9th dynasties, our dating of the reigns of the two kings named Kurigalzu is off by 440 years, our long sought for, late 10th century king Ashurbanipal, did not exist, and we should delete the entirety of our 3rd and 4th papers.

We draw attention to the problem lest our readers be confused by these faulty references. A glance at the Wikipedia article on the reign of Adad-apla-iddina immediately clears up the problem. There we read the following:

> His reign was apparently marked by an invasion of Arameans led by a usurper. "Der, Dur-Anki (Nippur). Sippar, Parsa (Dur-Kurigalzu) they demolished. The Suteans attacked and the booty of Sumer and Akkad they took home." These attacks were confirmed in an inscription of a later king of the following dynasty, Simbar-šihu, which relates
>
> The throne of Ellil in the E-kur-igi-gal which Nabū-kudurri-uṣur, a former king, had fashioned – during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, king of Bābil, hostile Arameans and Suteans, enemies of the E-kur and of Nippur, they who laid hands on the Duranki, (who) upset in Sippar, the pristine town, the seat of the high judge of the gods, their rites, (who) sacked the land of the Sumerians and the Akkadians, leveled all temples – the goods and the property of Ellil which the Arameans carried off and which the Suteans had appropriated…[7] —Simbar-šihu, *Inscription*

Clearly the name Dur-Kurigalzu does not occur in the 11th century B.C. document that describes the Aramean invasion referenced by our two "scholarly" quotations. Nor will the reader ever come across the name Dur-Kurigalzu in any inscription dated prior to the mid-10th century construction of that city by king Kurigalzu I. Instead the relevant document specifically states that the Arameans/Suteans invaded a town named Parsa. And the fact that the Wikipedia contributor has supplied the name Dur-Kurigalzu following the mention of Parsa informs us unambiguously that the city of Dur-Kurigalzu was founded on the site of an earlier settlement named Parsa, a fact that can be verified from many sources. Kudos to the Wikipedia author, whose scholarship in this matter is commendable. Not only does the reference permit us to fend off criticism, it actually serves as proof positive that our revision is correct. If the small town of Parsa, a hundred miles north (and slightly west) of Babylon, was adopted by Kurigalzu I in the middle of the 14th century B.C. as the site of his new city complex, and the newly founded and enlarged city of Dur-Kurigalzu, several kilometers in diameter, complete with city walls and ziggurat, existed on the site for over two hundred years, before being burned and ransacked by

the Elamites early in the 12th century, then how is it that the city, once again bearing the name of Parsa, and apparently functioning as a vibrant city, can be invaded by the Suteans in the 11th century, this according to the traditional history. Let the reader decide.

Nabu-shuma-ishkun:

From the Wikipedia article related to Nabu-shuma-ishkun we learn the following. 1) This king "ruled during a time of great civil unrest". 2) He was unrelated to Eriba-Marduk (revised dates 773-761) and arguably came to power during the chaos which we believe was on-going during the last year of the life of his predecessor. 3) An inscription of the governor of Borsippa, Nabû-šuma-imbi, "records the struggle over the control of their fields [i.e. fields owned by the inhabitants of Borsippa] in the face of the incursions of marauders from Babylon and Dilbat; also Chaldeans and Arameans. At night, the city streets and its temple area were transformed into a battleground. During the fifth and sixth years of the king, the strife was so great that the cultic idol of Nabu was prevented from participating in the Akitu, or new year's festival in Babylon". 4) At least one document portrays this king as a madman, highlighting his barbarism and his "violation of all moral and legal principles". 5) It is known for certain that his reign ended in 748, the year his successor Nabonassar came to power. And since there exist documents dated to his 13th year, his reign began at the latest in 761 B.C.

This king's reign adds little to our argument. The slaughter in Babylonia may not have completely ended, but the worst is probably over. The cylinder inscription of Nabu-shuma-imbi informs us that some rebellion persists, and the Chaldeans from the south of the country, and Arameans from the north-western Euphrates valley, and the desert regions bordering the Tigris-Euphrates valley in the central region of the country, still roam the land. In Assyria the Eponym lists suggest that the yearly military campaigns have resumed. We can only assume that some semblance of normalcy has also returned to Babylonia, though the country is without doubt still traumatized by the enormous loss of life, and the shortage of foodstuffs. Civil unrest remains. The ash in the atmosphere is gradually dissipating and the resulting toxicity in the rains has apparently ended. Fields are beginning to produce grain sufficient for the drastically reduced population. Recovery is underway, though ash does continue to obstruct the fullness of the sun, and obscure the starlight at night. We have no evidence that these assumption are correct, at least in the meagre documentation of the tyrant who has usurped the throne. But we do know from documents belonging to his successor that a new pollutant free era does begin in 748 with the advent of Nabonassar.

Nabonassar:

From the Wikipedia article related to Nabonassar (747-734) we learn multiple interesting facts, but only three which are directly relevant to the subject at hand, namely 1) "His reign saw the beginning of a new era characterized by the systematic maintenance of chronologically precise

historical records; 2) Berossus, a priest and astronomer who lived at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., wrote in his exemplar entitled Babyloniaca that "He [Nabonassar] gathered the records of his predecessors and destroyed them, thus ensuring that the history of the Chaldean kings began with him"; and 3) In Nabonassar's third year the powerful Neo-Assyrian king Tiglath-Pilezer III came to power in Assyria, and in his 1st campaign, a razzia through Babylonia to secure his southern border, it is said that "His forces skirted the metropolitan areas of Dur-Kurigalzu and Sippar and may have reached as far as the region of Nippur." Each of these three items adds a piece to the puzzle, as it were. We discuss them in the order listed.

1) The New Era of Nabonidus. In 765 B.C. a new era began in Assyria, denoted in the Assyrian eponym lists by a line drawn before the ninth year of the king Ashur-Dan. The fact that a new era is said to have begun in the year 747 B.C., the first year of the reign of Nabonassar, an era characterized by new and precise chronological data that could only be obtained by observation of the stars, informs us clearly that the first era has ended by this date. The night skies over Assyria and Babylonia at long last permit astronomers to make their observations and perform their calculations. And the fact that Babylonia, during the 18 years of obscured vision of the stars and the moon, has been overrun by foreigners, including the Chaldeans, renowned in years to come for their mastery of astronomical data, helps to explain the revolution that began in 747 B.C.

Immanuel Velikovsky, in his classic volume World's in Collision (1950) makes the following informative comment:

> In -747 a new calendar was introduced in the Middle East, and that year is known as "the beginning of the era of Nabonassar." It is asserted that some astronomical event gave birth to this new calendar, but the nature of the event is not known. The beginning of the era of Nabonassar, otherwise an obscure Babylonian king, was an astronomical date used as late as the second Christian century by the great mathematician and astronomer of the Alexandrian school, Ptolemy, and also by other scholars. It was employed as a point of departure of ancient astronomical tables. *World's in Collision* p. 210

Quoting from Cumont's *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, Velikovsky added:

> This was not a political or religious era ... Farther back there was no certainty in regard to the calculation of time. It is from that moment that the records of eclipses begin which Ptolemy used." (Cumont, pp 8-9)

Velikovsky asks the question paramount in the minds of the current generation of scholars. What was the astronomical event that gave birth to the era of Nabonassar? Velikovsky correctly concludes that the great raash of Uzziah's day (= the raash in the book of Amos) must have had something to do with the renaissance of night time study by the ancients. But for him it was the immediate cause, since for him the era of Nabonassar was preceded by a period of quite mundane, routine social life in Babylonia. For him there was only one "new era" and that era began in 747 B.C. Thus Velikovsky assumed that the raash of Uzziah's day took place in 747

B.C. We know differently. It happened in 765 B.C. and its effect was precisely the opposite of what Velikovsky envisaged – obstructed starlight, not increased clarity of nighttime vision. And Velikovsky in this respect at least, is typical of modern researchers. Scholars will have great difficulty coming to grips with the fact that two unique era's took place back to back in Assyria and Babylonia, one running from 765-747 B.C., and one never ending era beginning in 747 B.C.

Our inclusion of this discussion serves two purposes. On the one hand it serves to confirm our argument that the 765 B.C. event was not an eclipse, nor some other obstruction of the sun that lasted only for hours or days. Pollution of the atmosphere that possibly lasted for 18 years demands a cause as catastrophic as the eruption we describe. And the discussion serves also to explain the increased importance of the Chaldeans within Babylonia, leading to the advancements in the field of astronomy that characterized the "era of Nabonidus".

We have said, early in this paper, that any knowledge that serves to verify the accuracy of our explanation of the date 765 B.C., helps to confirm the accuracy of the Egyptian and Hittite time lines that hinge upon that date. These timelines, in turn, served in papers #1 and #2 to provide synchronisms that established the accuracy of our developing timeline for Babylonia, including arguing that the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty did not end until the year 714 B.C.

2) Destruction of Babylonian records. The reader might well ask what possible connection exists between Nabonassar gathering up official records and destroying them, and our claim that the Kassites were still ruling Babylonia in the 8th century B.C. We answer this hypothetical question with a single name – Adad-shuma-usur. It surely has not escaped the notice of our readers that this Kassite king, whose dates are 775-746 B.C. in the revised chronology, ruled Babylonia through the entirety of the reigns of Eriba-Marduk and Nabu-shuma-ishkun, and possibly a year or two into the reign of Nabonidus, depending on the accuracy of his revised dates. In our paper #2 we examined the Wikipedia article related to his reign, urging the reader to be cautious and critical when reading it, since the traditional history dates his reign to the late 13th and early 12th centuries B.C., and interprets all documents bearing his name as if they are composed in that era. We will not repeat the argument here. Our interest in this king here has to do with only one thing – the extreme lack of documentation attesting his reign. It follows that there is only one comment from the Wikipedia article of interest in this regard. It is said concerning Adad-shuma-usur that "There is surprisingly little contemporary evidence for this king considering the purported length of his reign, which was the longest recorded in the Kassite dynasty." And what specifically does the Wikipedia contributor mean by "surprisingly little contemporary evidence"? For an answer we turn to J.A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History, Vol. I* (1976) in which this widely recognized scholar itemizes all the known *contemporary* inscriptions of Adad-shuma-usur on pages 90-94. The complete list includes

1) Seven bricks, all duplicates, bearing a ten-line Sumerian building inscription recording work by Adad-shuma-usur on the Ekur in Nippur.

2) Two Luristan bronze daggers bearing the name of this king, both part of the Foroughi Collection in Teheran, and probably found during excavations in modern day Iran.

3) A late copy of a royal inscription, the original contained on a bronze statue no longer extant.

4) A neo-Assyrian copy of a letter sent from Adad-shuma-usur to the Assyrian kings Ashur-Nirari V (Ashur-Nirari III according to Brinkman) and Ili-ihadda. We have already commented on this letter in our paper #2.

5) A fragmentary stone kudurru recording a land grant by Adad-shuma-usur, found at Susa.

6) Sixteen economic texts, nine bearing dates ranging from year 3 to year 13. No provenance for these texts is given by Brinkman, though it is very likely that the majority originate from Nippur, the city which served as the main base of governmental activity during the tenure of the Kassite kings. According to Brinkman

> Nippur has yielded about twelve thousand inscriptions and inscribed fragments, of which more than fourteen hundred are catalogued below. About 95 percent of the catalogued texts - and a somewhat larger percentage of the uncatalogued - are economic, among which administrative documents far outnumber legal inscriptions. Many of these texts come from archives, both private and official, covering the generations between the fourth year of Burna-Buriash II (1356) and the reign of Kadashman-Harbe II (1223). Nippur has likewise been an important source for royal building inscriptions (all on bricks and written in Sumerian) and votive texts; the dates of these texts range from at least Burna-Buriash II to Meli-Shipak. Op. cit. p. 41

Assuming that our items 1) and 6) originate from Nippur, a reasonable guess, only seven bricks and sixteen economic texts, out of “about twelve thousand inscriptions and inscribed fragments” are attributable to Adad-shuma-usur”. Small wonder that scholars are perplexed.

Add to those statistics the fact that at Dur-Kurigalzu, Ur, and Babylon, the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th principal sources of documentation from the Kassite period, not a single inscription of Adad-shuma-user is known. This is particularly surprising in the case of Dur-Kurigalzu, where 225 inscribed objects from the Kassite period have been discovered, though we must admit that as yet only a small fraction of the enormous walled city has been excavated. Most of these name one or the other of the two kings Kurigalzu, though two name Kudur-Enlil , one or two name Shagarakti-Shuriash, and fourteen name Kashtiliashu IV, these three being kings numbered 26, 27, and 28 in the Kassite dynasty. There also are four dated to Marduk-apla-iddina I, the 34th king. Absent is any document from the reign of Adad-shuma-usur, the 32nd Kassite king, though his 30 year reign is only slightly less than the 38 combined years of the other four kings.

It should be noted that in our list of inscribed items from the reign of Adad-shuma-usur, items 2), 4) and 6) were contemporary artifacts, but were discovered outside of Babylonia, and the seven bricks mentioned in item 1) should rather be reckoned as a single artifact, since all were part of the same refurbished section of the temple complex at Nippur known as the Ekur. In the days of Adad-shuma-usur this structure was intact, and the inscriptions on the bricks would

not have been visible. Even item 3) needs to be qualified, since while the statue does date to the time of Adad-shuma-usur, the copy does not. This leaves the sixteen economic texts as the only surviving, easily accessible documents from Babylonia dated securely to the reign of Adad-shuma-usur. And these all date between the years 775-763 B.C., leaving open the question, "What happened to the massive corpus of documents that must have been created bearing the name of this king in this thirteen year period, and more to the point, where are the documents and artifacts associated with this king's reign in the seventeen year period following, i.e. from 762 to 746 B.C.

While Brinkman states on p. 41 of his *Materials and Studies for Kassite History* that "twelve thousand inscriptions and inscribed fragments" have been excavated from Nippur alone , he also states in the preface to this same book that in the whole of Babylonia that same number of "*primary documents*" exists from the Kassite period, a fact we quoted in our previous section. We would expect that the number of "primary documents" for each Kassite king would increase with the passage of time, as reign of the later kings emerged from the "dark ages" of the Ancient Near East. We would expect therefore that a king whose reign lasted for thirty years, and whole reign took place in the 8th century B.C., contemporary with the kings of the well documented neo-Assyrian empire, would leave behind thousands of documents for posterity. What happened to them? Scholars are perplexed. Thus the quote from our Wikipedia article.

The revised history has a ready answer. In fact it has two.

On the one hand we note that the reign of Adad-shuma-usur overlapped a very troubled period of Babylonia history, where the last five years of the reign of the vassal king Eriba-Marduk (765-761 B.C.) witnessed a series of natural disasters, disease, famine, civil strife, and the invasion of Aramean semi-nomads. The following reign was perhaps not quite so troubled, but civil strife, bordering on civil war, persisted for at least a half dozen years, roughly 761-755. Through this entire period, and for an unknown number of years beyond, the sunlight and clarity of the night sky was dimmed, less so as the years passed, but still ominous. We do not believe Adad-shuma-usur ventured far from his home in the Zagros region, where some of the same natural disasters may also have been experienced, though his officials in Nippur probably continued to conduct business as usual, as best they could, but on a drastically reduced scale. The production of documents was minimal, in part due to the massive reduction in the size of the population. And who knows what damage was done to the documents and artifacts that were produced, considering the severity of the revolts and invasions . Apparently very few documents, most written on fragile clay tablets, survived the first twenty years of the reign of the Kassite king.

On the other hand, the production of economic documents and inscribed artifacts almost certainly increased over time, and for the last decade of the life of this king (ca 757-747 B.C.) should not have been subject to the warfare that characterized his early regnal years. Literally thousands of inscribed documents should have survived his death in 746 B.C. But assuming the accuracy of the claim of Berrosus that Nabonassar "gathered the records of his predecessors

and destroyed them" these documents did not long survive the death of Adad-shuma-usur. There should be no doubt that animosity would have existed between Nabonassar, the native Babylonian vassal, and Adad-shuma-usur, the Kassite overlord. Besides, apparently the Kassite king had done little to prevent the carnage in the Babylonian vassal state, allowing the slaughter of the Babylonian population to continue for years unabated, reducing Karduniash to a shadow of its former glory. How best to wreak vengeance following the death of the Kassite king than to erase every visible sign of his existence.

One final section and this paper will end.

3) Dur-Kurigalzu Once Again.

Two years after the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar (747-734), and one year after the death of Adad-shuma-usur (775-746) and the ascendancy of Meli-Shipak, his successor, Tiglath-Pilezer III, succeeded the weak king Ashur-Nirari V (755-745) in Assyria. The next year, in his 1st year, Tiglath-Pilezer initiated a whirlwind campaign through Babylonia, a razzia to secure his southern border. According to our Wikipedia source "His forces skirted the metropolitan areas of Dur-Kurigalzu and Sippar, and may have reached as far as the region of Nippur." Other sources suggest that he actually conquered Dur-Kurigalzu and Sippar of Shamash [a suburb of Sippar. Thus we read in the Wikipedia article concerning Tiglath-Pileser III that

> Upon ascending the throne, he claimed (in Annal 9, which dates to 745 BCE, his first regnal year) to have annexed Babylonia, from "Dur-(Kuri)galzu, Sippar of Shamash, ... the cities [of Ba]bylonia up to the Uqnu river [by the shore of the Lo]wer [Sea].

Again, this time in the CAH III Part 2, on page 81

> The territory invaded was that traditionally disputed between the two powers, the extreme north of Babylonia and the east Tigris area. In the latter region a number of places were taken as the Assyrian invasion pushed east and south as far as the Ulaya River and the Persian Gulf. This advance brought under Assyrian control numerous cities over which the Babylonians had hegemony, and Aramaean tribes, which were transported to various areas. The conquered domains were divided up and apportioned to neighbouring provinces in the Zagros, such as (Ma)zamua. A new city called Kar-Ashur was built, a canal dredged to provide irrigation, and people settled there.
>
> Concerning the activities of the Assyrians between the Tigris and Euphrates on this campaign, there is a problem: it is uncertain which Babylonian cities were conquered by Tiglath-pileser on his first campaign and which on his later campaigns. In the display texts the place names are all listed together and the annals, which could solve the problem, are badly broken in the relevant sections. There is no doubt that he captured important centres in the extreme north, such as Dur-Kurigalzu and a suburb of Sippar called Sippar of Shamash, but how far beyond this did Tiglath-pileser go? The generally accepted view is that he achieved little between the two rivers beyond the conquests in the extreme north just named. In the annals for 745 he boasts of capturing a suburb of Nippur,

> Qin-Nippur, but none of the major cities south of Dur-Kurigalzu is mentioned in the preserved narrative, and it seems as though he merely made a quick raid into the heart of Babylonia. The purpose of this raid is of special interest. There is reason to believe that it was intended to make secure the position of the Babylonian king Nabonassar, in fulfilment of a treaty obligation.

Surprisingly, we really don't care if Dur-Kurigalzu was skirted [avoided] or conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III in 745 B.C. We are concerned only with the fact that the city was correctly named in his annals. In the revised history the city of Dur-Kurigalzu was built in the middle of the 10th century and remained the Kassites home base in Karduniash/Babylonia until destroyed in the Elamite invasion that brought the 3rd dynasty to a close in 714. If conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III in 745 - unlikely, but certainly possible considering the times – it did not remain in Assyrian hands for long, since, as noted in the preceding section, several documents dated to the reign of Meli-Shipak were excavated within that city, and four document of the later Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina were also discovered.

Assuming that we are not correct, and the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty of Babylon did not overlap dynasties 4-9, then why is the city still vibrant, four hundred years after being destroyed in the middle of the 12th century, still surrounded by enormous enclosure walls, still housing its ziggurat and temple complex. On page 31 above, after correcting an earlier CAH article which said, mistakenly, that the city of Dur-Kurigalzu was invaded in the middle of the 11th century, when the text actually said that a city named Parsa had been attacked, we penned these words.

> If the small town of Parsa, a hundred miles north (and slightly west) of Babylon, was adopted by Kurigalzu I in the middle of the 14th century B.C. as the site of his new city complex, and the newly founded and enlarged city of Dur-Kurigalzu, several kilometers in diameter, complete with city walls and ziggurat, existed on the site for over two hundred years, before being burned and ransacked by the Elamites early in the 12th century, then how is it that the city, once again bearing the name of Parsa, and apparently functioning as a vibrant city, can be invaded by the Suteans in the 11th century, this according to the traditional history.

This time, however, the CAH article has the name right. Are we now to believe that for a third time the city name has changed, from Parsa, to Dur-Kurigalzu, to Parsa, to Dur-Kurigalzu again. Or can we finally accept the fact that the site of the city, originally Parsa, was used by Kurigalzu I in the middle of the 10th century to construct a namesake city, still functioning in 745 B.C. when Tiglath-Pileser III came to pay a visit?

And with that, at long last, we conclude this 5th paper.

Paper #4 Arguments that the 10th/9th century kings of the "dynasty of E" were vassals of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Dynasty. (Arguments 1 & 2: The Babylonian Campaigns and Annals of Adad-nirari II).

In our last paper we argued that the 8th century positioning of the last 8 kings of the Babylonian "dynasty of E" (= dynasties 8 and 9 combined) was at least consistent with our revised dating of the 8th century Kassite kings. At minimum we determined that no major conflicts were created by overlapping the Kassite and the "Post-Kassite" kings. On a more positive note we established the fact that the catastrophic effects of the 765 B.C. eruption in the Mediterranean of the volcanic island of Santorini were strongly felt both in Assyria and Babylonia at this identical time. The date of this massive explosion thus served to synchronize the timelines of Egypt, Hatti, Assyria and Babylonia, absolutely confirming the accuracy of our revision, now linked firmly with the Assyrian timeline.

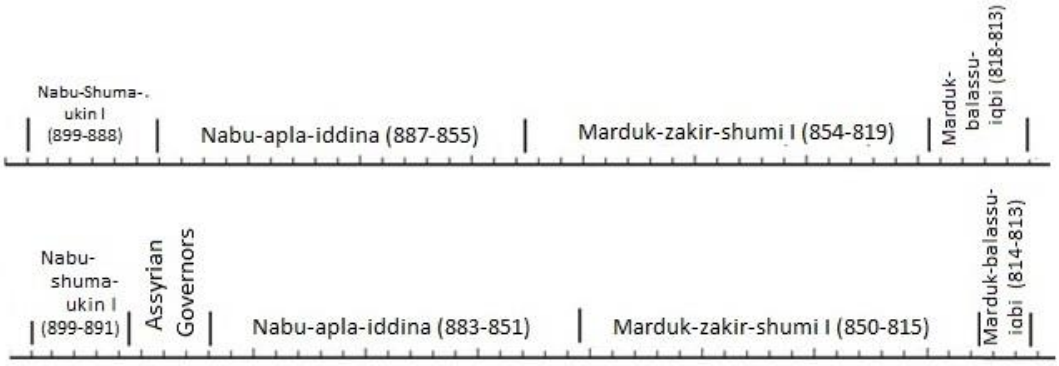
Beginning in the present paper, and continuing in multiple papers following, we place the initial kings of the composite "dynasty of E" alongside the Kassite kings of the mid-10th/ 9th centuries, and argue for the accuracy of this positioning. Multiple papers, rather than one, are deemed necessary for two reasons, namely, 1) to accommodate the added relevant documentation related to this time frame, and 2) to hold in check the size of these papers, which have lengthened considerably since we began modifying Babylonian history in our paper #1.

The foundational chart for these monographs is presented in our Figure 2 on page 3 following. This timeline is essentially identical to Figure 3 on page 26 of our 3rd paper, with the addition of the early "kings of Babylon" belonging to the "dynasty of E" on the third timeline from the bottom of the chart. As in our previous paper we use the dates for these kings supplied by J.A. Brinkman in his 1968 classic "*A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia: 1158-722 B.C.*" (henceforth PKB), modified slightly in order to accommodate the discovery, discussed in our 3rd paper, that during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (891-884) Babylonia was governed by Assyrian officials rather than by "kings of Babylon". This last comment deserves some explanation.

The upper timeline in our Figure 1 diagrams the reigns of the successive "dynasty of E" kings Nabu-shuma-ukin I, Nabu-apla-iddina, Marduk-zakir-shumi and Marduk-balassu-iqbi as they occur with dates supplied by Brinkman in 1968. When we insist that neither Nabu-shuma-ukin I nor Nabu-apla-iddina was ruling in the time frame 891-884 this necessitates a series of changes to the dates of these kings, as depicted in the lower timeline. Specifically, we are compelled to argue 1) that the reign of Nabu-shuma-ukin I must have ended in 891 rather than three years later in 888, and 2) that the reign of Nabu-apla-iddina must have begun in 884 rather than in 888. Accommodating the first of these changes is not problematic, since Brinkman, commenting on the reign of Nabu-shuma-ukin I, states that "the total of his regnal years is now completely lost" (PKB 180) , leaving us free to decrease the length of his reign from 12 to 9 years without fear of contradiction. A problem does arise, however, when we come to the

reign of Nabu-apla-iddina, who is known to have reigned for 32 (or 33) official years. In the traditional chronology his dates (887-855) barely accommodate this reign length. In the revised history, assuming 883 B.C. is this king's first official year, his 32nd year would fall in 852 B.C., three years after Brinkman dates his death. What to do? The problem was solved recently with a discovery that confirmed that Nabu-apla-iddina died in the 8th official year of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858-824), thus in 851 B.C. Brinkman's comment adjusting his date for the death of Nabu-apla-iddina can be found at the end of a brief paper entitled "Notes on three kudurrus in the Louvre", published on pages 30-32 in the journal *Nouvelle Assyriologiques Breves et Utilitaires* (N.A.B.U.) (see page 32, note 7). Because of these two changes a domino effect compels us to alter the dates of the final two named kings. The 36 year reign length of Marduk-zakir-shumi I, the successor of Nabu-apla-iddina, must be changed from 854-819, Brinkman's original figure, to 850-815, and the dates of that king's successor Marduk-balassu-iqbi must be reduced from 818-813 to 814-813.

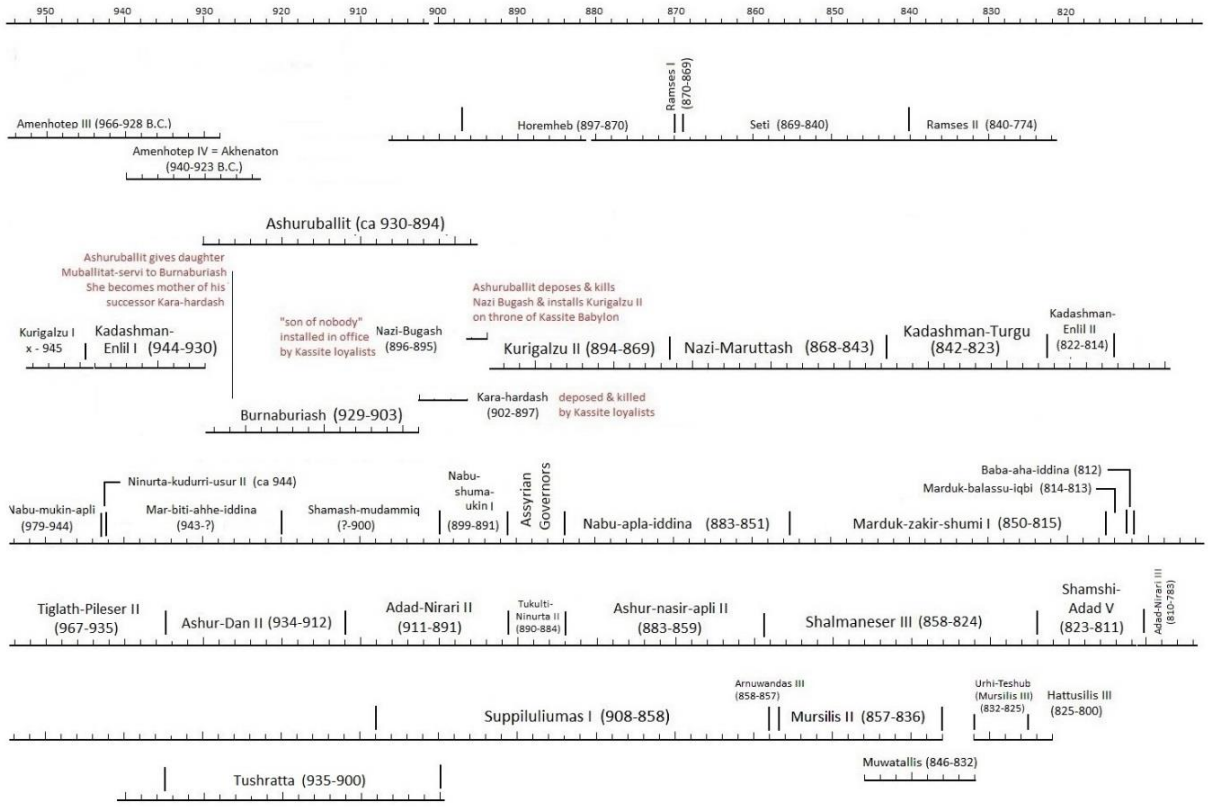
Figure 1: The Traditional versus the Revised History Dates for the Dynasty of E kings Nabu-shuma-ukin I, Nabu-apla-iddina, Marduk-zakir-shumi and Marduk-balassu-iqbi.



One additional item deserves mention before we proceed. The reader will notice in our Figure 2 on the next page the addition of a single name – Tushratta (935-900) - at the bottom left of the chart. As early as our first paper on Babylon it became evident that in due time the nation of Mitanni would have to be introduced to our timelines. We begin slowly, introducing the Mitanni kings only as needed, and with caution, since the archives of the Mitanni kings have yet to be unearthed and all we know about this ethnic group is what can be gleaned from references to them in the literature of the surrounding nations, particularly those of Egypt and Hatti. That fact alone creates problems of dating for the revised history, since those references, at least in the case of the Hittites and Egyptians, will position most of the well-known Mitanni kings in the 15th through the 13th centuries B.C., including Tushratta, who is dated by the traditional history in the mid to late 14th century. In our Displaced Dynasties revised history the dates of all the relevant Egyptian and Hittite kings have been reduced by approximately 440 years, and these reductions necessarily apply to all nations contemporary with them, including the Mitanni. On the other hand, this reduction in dates does not apply to references to the

Mitanni in the annals of the Assyrian kings, whose dates are not affected by our revision. It follows that references to the Mitanni by Assyrian kings such as Adad-nirari I (1295-1264) and Shalmaneser I (1263-1234) are reliably dated. In consequence, these latter references, supposedly discussing this nation in the days of its fading glory, will actually be referencing the Mitanni in their formative years. The resulting situation can at times be confusing. One consequence follows naturally. We cannot blindly rely on the extensive analyses of the Mitanni in the scholarly literature of the 19th through 21st centuries. Enough said about this nation at this time. We will say more about them as we proceed through the following papers.

Figure 2: Timeline Showing the Reigns of the mid-10th/9th century kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, Kassite Babylonia, and the early kings of the Babylonian composite "dynasty of E".



Chronicle P

23' Nazi-maruttaš, son of [...] [2]
24' king of Assyria in [...].
Lacuna

Beginning of Column 4 (lines 1-11)

1' [...]
2' [...] he threw iron bands and [...] [3]
3' [...] Tukulti-Ninurta returned to Babylon and
4' brought [...] near. He destroyed the wall of Babylon and put[5] the Babylonians to the sword.
5' He took out the property of the Esagila and Babylon amid the booty. The statue of the great lord Marduk
6' he removed from his dwelling-place and sent him to Assyria.
7' He put his governors[6] in Karduniaš. For seven years, Tukulti-Ninurta
8' controlled Karduniaš[7]. After the Akkadian officers of Karduniaš had rebelled and
9' put Adad-šuma-ušur on his father's throne,
10' Aššur-nasir-apli, son of that Tukulti-Ninurta who had[9] carried criminal designs against Babylon, and the officers of Assyria rebelled against Tukulti-Ninurta,
11' removed him from the throne, shut him up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and killed him.

As we move forward we need to stress the fact that our objective in these papers is not to prove that the "dynasty of E" kings of Babylon belong in this mid-10th/9th century time frame. All scholars are convinced of that fact. It is the Kassite kings that are the interlopers in this rewriting of history. In our 3rd paper we demonstrated that the Kassite kings from Kurigalzu I through to Kadashman-Enlil II fit perfectly in the 10th/9th century revised context in which they were positioned. But the majority of the synchronisms that resulted from the positioning of the Kassite kings in this time frame were with the Egyptian and Hittite timelines, themselves the subject of a prior major revision. What is needed here is further evidence that links the Kassite kings, whether directly or indirectly, with either the Assyrian timeline or with the newly introduced timeline of the "dynasty of E" kings of Babylon. That will be our focus going forward. In the pages that follow we will catalogue roughly two dozen such synchronisms, moving roughly from left to right in our Figure 2 timeline. By the time we finish, we hope to have removed the last vestige of doubt in the minds of our readers. But before we begin that process we need to itemize a few general considerations which are supportive of our overall argument.

A. General Considerations.

The consensus view of scholars today is that the Kassites, with homeland somewhere in the Zagros mountain range east or north-east of Babylonia, conquered their near-neighbor sometime around the beginning of the 16th century, and ruled the country directly, without subordinate vassal kings, until invaded by the Iranian king Shutruk-Nahhunte around the year 1155 B.C. The Kassite invaders referred to the conquered country by the Kassite name Karduniash. Enlil-nadin-ahi, the last Kassite king of the 3rd dynasty, lost control of the country via the Iranian invasion, was taken captive and imprisoned in Iran, where he apparently died. The Kassites were then succeeded by six dynasties of kings numbered four through nine, though the eighth and ninth dynasties were combined, for unknown reasons, under the rubric "dynasty of E". But this numeration of dynastic changes actually underreports the reality. There were not six dynasties of "kings of Babylon" following the demise of the Kassites. There were upward of a dozen "family dynasties" where kings were succeeded by descendants for several generations. And these family dynasties were often followed by sequences of rulers, each unrelated to their predecessors, and often of different ethnicities, intrusions which clearly qualify as "dynastic changes". In the "dynasty of E" alone there exist two lengthy dynasties of four family members, and one with three, and these were interspersed with multiple other more isolated changes of leadership.

This brief summary of the facts raises several questions for the adherents of the traditional history. We mention them only in passing. A book could be written on each subject.

1*) Is it a fact that the Kassite kings ruled Babylonia directly, without employing vassal kings entrusted with the major decision making power characteristic of this office?* If true, then surely this implies that the Kassite rulers must have resided permanently in Babylonia, and if so, where? Dur-Kurigalzu, the only known location of a Kassite palace, was not constructed until the reign of Kurigalzu I, the 17th king of the dynasty, and there is absolutely no record of the families of Kassite kings residing there. Neither is there evidence that they resided in Babylon or Nippur, the other major cities of the country. We assume their permanent residence was always in the Kassite homeland, probably hundreds of miles away in the Zagros region, and that they only visited Karduniash when circumstances warranted. This scenario finds its parallel in multiple instances in the Near East. We mention only a single case in point, namely, the Persian "conquest" of Egypt in 543 B.C., discussed at length at the beginning of our Displaced Dynasties series.

According to our revised history of Egypt, when Cyrus invaded Egypt in 543 B.C. and found Egypt to be lacking a king, he went so far as to install one himself, placing a native Egyptian, Psamtik I, on the throne as pharaoh of the entire country, albeit as a Persian vassal. So absolute were Psamtik's powers that historians wrongly assumed this 139 year-long family

dynasty had absolute authority over the country, and assigned them their own time frame in history as the 26th Egyptian dynasty, distinct from the time frame assigned to the Persian overlords, who were designated as the 27th dynasty, the two dynasties ruling in succession. We argue that the identical situation prevailed in Babylonia, where the conquerors (the Kassites) and the vassals (dynasties 4-9) were wrongly deemed to have rule sequentially. In Egypt, visits by the Persians conquerors were few and far between, since the distance between the two countries was enormous. The Kassite kings probably visited Karduniash frequently, but subordinate kings and trusted government officials were relied upon to provide leadership in the interim.

2) Administering a country requires a bureaucracy employing hundreds of bureaurats functioning under some central authority. It is known that the Kassites installed multiple functionaries, many of whom bore Kassite names, to administer the affairs of the country. Each of the provinces was assigned a governor (*shaknu*) to represent and defend Kassite interests. Chief among these was the governor of Nippur, given a unique Kassite title (*shandabakku*) to reflect his unique position and stature. Even the traditional history accepts the fact that Nippur functioned as the administrative center of the country throughout the Kassite period, with the *shandabakku* as its *major domo.*

As we have noted elsewhere, when the University of Pennsylvania conducted a series of excavations in Nippur in the final years of the 19th century and the initial years of the 20th, they unearthed upwards of twelve thousand tablets and tablet fragments, not to mention a large number of assorted inscriptional artifacts, mostly of an administrative nature, a large percentage of which remain untranslated. But this raises a question for adherents of the traditional history. *Since the shandabakku was a unique official belonging to a unique period in history, i.e. the Kassite period, then why do we find record of multiple officials bearing this identical title throughout the "post Kassite" period? Does the change in leadership, from that of a foreign conqueror residing outside the country to a sequence of independent native rulers, not imply a necessary change in domestic bureaucracy?*

3) Speaking of traditions which surprisingly do not change when a long-standing foreign dynasty is replaced by a sequence of short-lived local administrations, we wonder *how it is that the Kassites renamed the county of Babylonia, employing the unique Kassite name Karduniash, and their "successors", the occupants of the county through the 4th through the 9th dynasties, did not revert to naming the country Babylonia for the next 400 years?* What is perhaps even more surprising is that the Assyrians, who interacted with Babylonia constantly over both time frames, use no other word when referencing their southern neighbor. The traditional history will no doubt shrug off this question as being of little consequence, but it is certainly a consideration for the revised history. We are most fortunate that the country was actually called Karduniash during the post-Kassite period, since otherwise our hypothesis of overlapping dynasties would be severely discredited, this for obvious reasons. From 1155 to 732 B.C. the Kassites *were* the rulers of Babylonia. It is a necessity therefore that the country retained its

Kassite name in this time frame. Names are important. Let the adherents of the traditional history explain why the name Karduniash was retained for over 400 years after the Kassite dynasty had run its course and Babylonian rule was returned to native rulers.

4) The traditional history accepts without question that a Kassite invasion of Babylonia took place early in the 16th century. That was, after all, the primary cause of dynastic change in the turbulent environment of the first and second millennia in the Ancient Near East. Dynasties didn't simply die out. There were no democratic elections. So if there were changes in dynastic leadership during the hundreds of years following the exit of the Kassites they should normally be explained as resulting from some invasive element, usually a coup-d'etat or an invasion by some nearby nation. In our introduction to this section we mentioned the fact that a dozen dynastic changes took place during the lengthy time frame of the "dynasty of E" alone. Extrapolating, this amounts to forty to fifty over the time frame of the "post-Kassite" period. *Did these changes result from invasion from without?* If so the intrusive elements are never mentioned in the literature of the period. It cannot be assumed that some higher governmental authority merely ordered the change in leadership - which no doubt was the case for lesser government officials such as the provincial governors - for in the case of the "kings of Babylon", there was no "higher governmental authority", at least as far as adherents of the traditional history are concerned. This "succession problem" has no solution in the traditional history. In the revised history, with the Kassite overlords in control of the country, changes in governmental structure could be (and no doubt were) achieved instantaneously by fiat, for multiple reasons known only to the Kassites themselves.

B. Specific Arguments

We begin in this section to outline the arguments supporting our timeline in Figure 2 above. The reader is encouraged to duplicate this figure and have ready access to it as we proceed. The same goes for other charts and figures as they appear. With five nations and literally dozens of kings vying for attention in the commentary, the reader can easily become disoriented. We number our argument headings consecutively, though the reader will usually find multiple synchronisms discussed under each numerical heading.

Argument 1. Adad-nirari II – Conflict and treaty with Shamash-mudammiq and Nabu-shuma-ukin I

Twice in the reign of Adad-nirari II (911-894), the Assyrian king launched an assault on his southern neighbors, one campaign against Shamash-mudammiq and another against Nabu-shuma-ukin. While it is no surprise that the Assyrian king was a contemporary of these two

Babylonians (see Figure 2), there is nevertheless evidentiary value in the details of these campaigns.

a) Campaign against Shamash-mudammiq

The annals of Adad-nirari II inform us that sometime in his tenure as king - we suspect in the fall of the year 902 B.C., the middle of his 10th official year - the Assyrian king invaded Karduniash and conquered its southern neighbor, supposedly "in its entirety". The invasion is recorded as a *fait accompli* in the introductory portion of the annals, in a section immediately preceding the description of the campaigns of the Assyrian king against Hanigalbat to the north, invasions which spanned the years 901-894 B.C. Since Shamash-mudammiq died in the year 900, it is tempting to relate his death to the invasion, but Brinkman states that there is no evidence of this, and he claims that the Babylonian king died a natural death. The reader can peruse the details of the annals either on pages 145-155 in A. Kirk Grayson's Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BC) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers], or alternatively on pages 109-116 of volume I of Daniel David Luckenbill's "Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia" (henceforth ARAB). The description of the assault on Karduniash, contained in section 360 of Luckenbill's translation, is duplicated below. In it Adad-nirari II identifies himself as the

> Conqueror of Karduniash (Babylonia) in its entirety, who established the overthrow of Shamash-mudammik, king of Karduniash, from Ialman to the river of Dur-ilani; - (the land) from Lahiru to the plain of Salum was added to the territory of Assyria. The land of Der I conquered in its entirety. Arrapha, Lubda, strongholds of Karduniash, I restored to the territory of Assyria. (ARAB, 110-11)

One feature of this translation of particular interest to us is that Babylonia is referred to by its Kassite name Karduniash, and we furnish the above quotation from the annals of Adad-nirari as an example of this phenomenon, described earlier without examples in the "general considerations" section which began this paper. The name Babylonia, which Luckenbill adds in brackets to his translation, is found nowhere in the text. As per our discussion in the earlier section (A.3), this is precisely what we expected. It is not an isolated instance of this usage, and it is particularly supportive of our overall argument since it is used as part of the title of the Babylonian king. As we explained earlier, reference to Babylonia in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods must necessarily refer to the country by its Kassite name, since the Kassite period is ongoing throughout. But the reader should take note that many modern scholarly works, unlike the translation by Luckenbill, replace the name Karduniash with "Babylonia" when referencing such texts, omitting any mention of the substitution.

But demonstrating the usage of the country name is only one reason for mentioning this "invasion". J.A. Brinkman, in commenting on it, supplies details not specifically mentioned in the cited quotation from Adad-nirari's annals, details gleaned from a generalist knowledge of the geography of the region.

> Shamash-mudammiq, if we can believe the Assyrian sources at this point, seems to have been a singularly unlucky ruler. During his reign, the whole of Babylonia was supposedly overrun by the Assyrian armies; and the official borders of the land receded in both the northwest and northeast. In the northeast, he

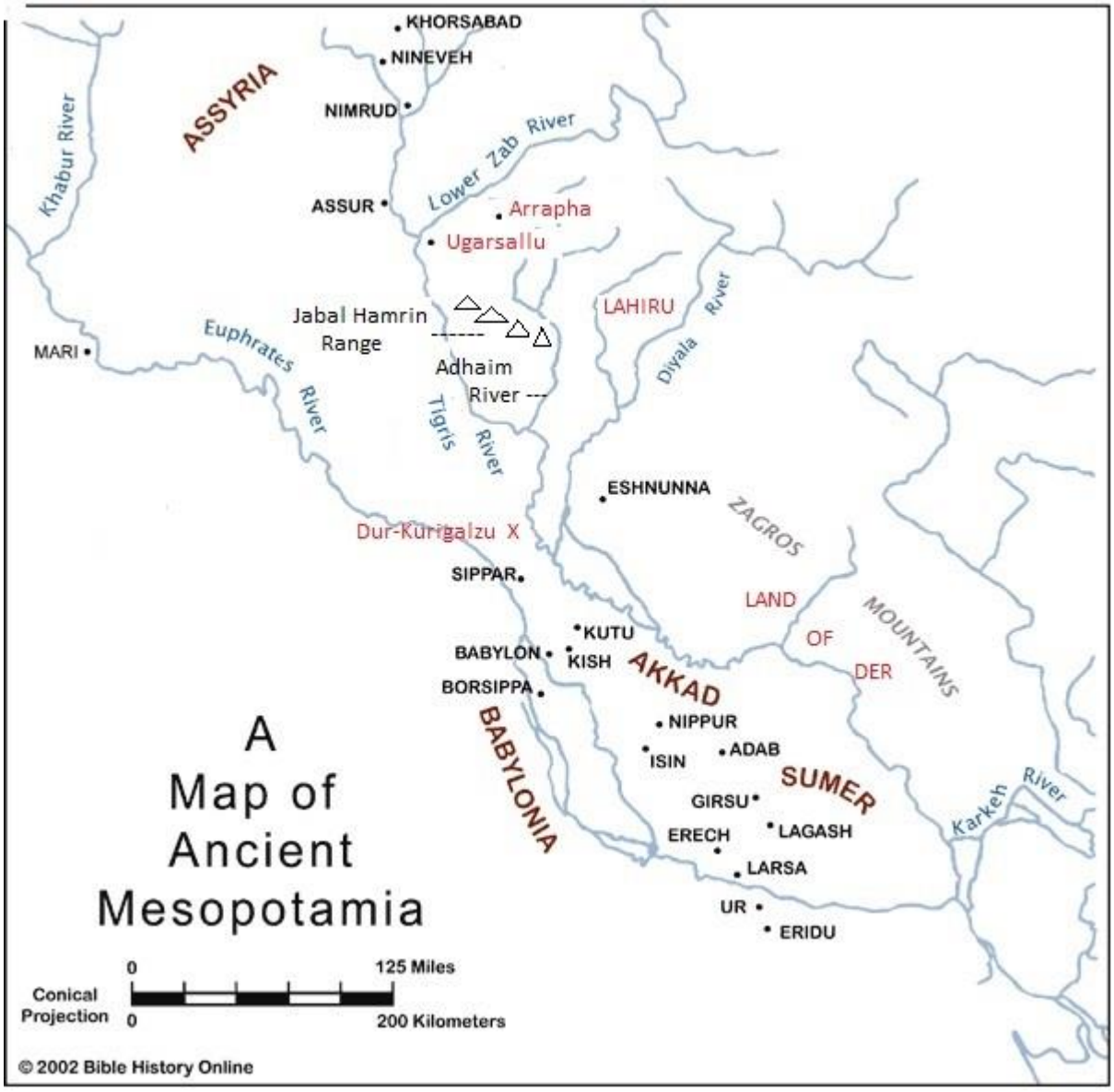
> was defeated by Adad-nirari II at the foot of Mt Jalman (probably towards the southeastern end of the Jebel Hamrin range). The Assyrians then annexed Babylonian territory from Lahiru to Ugarsallu into their country. The whole of the land of Der was conquered; and the fortified cities of Arrapha and Lubdu, which had served as outposts for the northern border of Babylonia, were reincorporated into Assyria proper… (Brinkman, PKB, pp 177-178.)

We need to interject here one explanatory remark, namely, that Brinkman's reference to an Assyrian army attacking the *northwest* of Karduniash has nothing to do with this particular invasion, though it did occur earlier in the reign of Shamash-mudammiq and a brief allusion to it is contained in the annals. The campaign against Shamash-mudammiq being referenced at this time was actually confined to the extreme north eastern and eastern regions. The densely populated cities in the heart of Karduniash were studiously avoided (as they apparently were also on the earlier occasion). On reaching the region around the city of Der, a rich fertile plain, the Assyrian army is still more than a hundred kilometers distant from the fortress of Dur-Kurigalzu and around 150 kilometers from the city of Babylon. This appears to be its closest approach to Karduniash in the strictest interpretation of that geographic name.

Reading the two quotations related to the Assyrian campaign the reader will immediately notice that not a single one of the Babylonian names mentioned are recognizable. Arrapha (present day Kirkuk) is a city state, the district lying on the east side of the Tigris bordering the Lower Zab River, which itself is less than twenty miles from Assur, the Assyrian capital. Lahiru is a district bordering the Diyala River on the north, far to the east of the Tigris. Both the Arrapha and Lahiru districts are separated from the Tigris by a small mountain range known as the Jebel Hamrin range, the south eastern slopes of which are mentioned by Brinkman as the site of the battle between Adad-nirari and Shamash-mudammiq. Though the fate of Shamash-mudammiq is not known, we suspect that he was simply driven back into Babylonian territory. Neither his capture nor his retreat are mentioned in Adad-nirari's annals, nor elsewhere - only the fact that he was "overthrown", whatever that expression implies. The Assyrian army then proceeded to conquer cities in the district of Lahiru and in the district of Ugarsallu. The latter area, in our opinion, encompasses the land mass between the Jebel Hamrin range and the Tigris, while the city Ugarsallu itself lies very close to the juncture of the Lower Zab and the Tigris.

To enable the reader to follow the details of this invasion more closely, we reproduce the following map, borrowed from the Bible History Online site here, and modified slightly to include some names mentioned by Brinkman.

Figure 3: Map of Karduniash at the time of Adad-nirari II



The description of the Assyrian invasion, as outlined above, raises several questions related to our paper. On the assumption that our thesis is correct, and that a Kassite king in this time frame - likely Burnaburiash II - is the legitimate ruler of Karduniash, why is the response to this invasion led by the vassal Shamash-mudammiq? And if the intent of Adad-nirari II was to conquer his southern neighbor, why does he avoid the heartland of the country? The answers to both questions are related, and can be summed up in one word – timing. As we proceed in this paper, in particular in the critical final section, we will learn that Adad-nirari was a meticulous planner. Every military action described in his annals has a specific purpose, and is carefully timed, and the annals can only be understood if and when the reader is familiar with the timeline of the evolving situation.

We answer the second question first. The intent of this invasion was not the conquest of Karduniash. Its purpose was two-fold. On the one hand Adad-nirari, throughout his annals, makes clear the fact that his intent on all campaigns, both to the south and to the north, is the recovery of cities and lands that once belonged to Assyria, and have been lost to the country during the previous centuries of national weakness. On the other hand, to achieve that end he is compelled to equip, and feed an enlarged Assyrian army. Both of those objectives are clearly being met on this campaign. The recovery of territory in the extreme north-east, formerly held by Assyria - who at one time ruled as far south as the Diyala River, and infrequently as far as the region of Der – clearly meets the first objective. And if we are correct that the invasion took place in the fall, when crops were ready for harvest, and late in the year 902 B.C., only months before the beginning of his lengthy assault on Hanigalbat in the spring of 901 B.C. his timing is clearly manifest.

As for the first question we remind the reader of our earlier remarks concerning Kassite residency. We are firmly convinced that the Kassites did not reside permanently in Karduniash, but only visited on an ad hoc basis. Knowing that, we can be sure that Adad-nirari would have first established the fact that the Kassites at the time were absent from Dur-Kurigalzu. Simple reconnaissance would have informed him when the Kassites were in Karduniash and when they were not. His attack on the country would have been timed accordingly. Adad-nirari was careful to avoid unnecessary conflict, so long as his two objectives were met. The campaigns against Karduniash and Hanigalbat could well have waited a year, if that were necessary.

In the opinion of this author the land of Der is as far as the army of Adad-nirari journeyed. After conquering multiple towns in the region of Der, and harvesting their crops as part of his tribute, he returned to Assur, his capital. He then proceeded to make final plans for his assault on Hanigalbat. Assuming that the attack against the “land of Der” took place in the fall of 902 B.C., as we claim, and that the campaigns against Hanigalbat began in the spring of 901 B.C., which fact is confirmed in the annals, he has only months to ready his army. His claim to have conquered the whole of the land of Karduniash was just a boastful exaggeration, typical of the extravagant claims that fill the annals of Assyrian kings. In fact, Adad-nirari did not invade, much less conquer a single Babylonian city lying in the heart of the country, the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris. If he had, then surely mention of the fact would be included in his annals.

b) Campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin

We turn once again to Brinkman, the foremost authority on matters Babylonian, to describe the second of two battles fought between Adad-nirari II and Assyria’s neighbor to the south.

> The Synchronistic History is the source of our knowledge of Nabu-shuma-ukin’s relations with Adad-nirari II. According to this Assyrian document, Adad-nirari defeated the Babylonian king, despoiled several Babylonian towns, and brought the booty home to Assyria. Then, following a brief broken passage that is

> at present unintelligible, we learn that the two kings exchanged daughters in marriage and established amicable relations between the two lands…
>
> The date of this battle between Nabu-shuma-ukin and Adad-nirari may be fixed with reasonable probability late in the reign of the latter. Since Adad-nirari's campaigns are recounted in summary fashion between 911 and 902 and then year by year from the eponymate of Dur-mat-Ashur (901) through the eponymate of Shamash-abua (894), his second encounter with Babylonia must be dated between 893 and the end of his reign in 891. The power of the Assyrian may well have failed during his declining years. (PKB, 180-181)

For the benefit of the reader the text of the relevant portion of the 3rd column of the Synchronistic History is reproduced below:

> A9 Nabu-shuma-ishkun (sic!), son of [Shamash-mudammiq, ascended his father's throne?]
> A10 Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, fought with Nabu-shuma-ishkun (sic!)
> A11 king of Karduniash, and defeated him.
> A12 […]banbala Huda[…]
> A13 […] numerous cities
> A14 […] he conquered. Their vast booty
> A15 he took to Assyria.
> A16 […] his land, he enclosed him.
> A17 […] he received from him. They gave their daughters to one another in marriage.
> A18 Together they made an entente cordiale.
> A19 The peoples of Assyria and Akkad were joined together.
> A20 They established a boundary to Til=Sha-Abtani and Til-sha-Zabdani
> A21 from Til-Bit-Bari, which is upstream on the Zab.

Two important facts emerge from these two quoted paragraphs from Brinkman, both assisting our overall argument. The first relates to comments we made in our last paper regarding the name of Nazi-Maruttash (1307-1282 B.C.) occurring in a document entitled the *Adad-nirari Epic*, a document which, according to scholars of the traditional history, was authored by the king Adad-nirari I (1295-1264 B.C.) in the last third of the 2nd millennium B.C. Needless to say those claims, were we to believe them, would absolutely negate our dating of the Kassite kings. As usual, however, the experts were totally off base, and we explained the data on the document as follows. First we acknowledged the fact that the names of Nazi-Maruttash and a king named Adad-nirari do occur in the same context on one of four highly fragmented, extremely damaged tablets containing a text that 20th century scholars *assume* had originated in the 2nd millennium. We then countered with the claim that the tablets are clearly the work of Assyrian scribes in the 9th century or later, judging by the orthography of the writing, a claim not disputed by historians who acknowledge that the existing tablets are later copies of the original composition. Finally we explained the fact that enough remains of the context to inform us that the tablet was clearly documenting the fact that Nazi-Maruttash (868-843) had violated a treaty made earlier between the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911-891) and the Babylonians. What we failed to provide on pages 9 and 10 in our paper #3 was proof positive that there did exist a treaty between the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II and the Babylonians. The omission at the time was necessary because we had not yet introduced the dynasty of E kings to our timelines, specifically

the king Nabu-shuma-ukin. His inclusion now confirms the accuracy of our comments in the previous paper. Brinkman has mentioned the fact that Adad-nirari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin, not long after the invasion of Karduniash by the Assyrian king, "exchanged daughters in marriage and established amicable relations between the two lands". Scholars are unanimous in claiming that this exchange of daughters formalized a treaty between the two nations. We agree.

The second relevant fact cited by Brinkman concerns the date of Adad-nirari's campaign against Babylon. He suggests the date 893 as the earliest possibility. We suggest that the date was 894, and that the Babylonian campaign was the third "campaign" conducted by Adad-nirari II that year. Our argument goes as follows. In 895, in the eponymy of Ina-ilia-alak, in the month Simanu (May/June), the 3rd month of the year, Adad-nirari led the Assyrian army 200 miles north-east to defend Kumme (or Kummu), an independent city state loyal to Assyria but besieged by the neighboring province of Kirhi (or Habhu). There he burned several cities in Kirhi, gathered their crops, and imposed tribute and tax on the remaining cities (Luckenbill, section 371). Finally, in the month Nisanu (March/April), the beginning of the next Assyrian year, in the eponymy of Adad(?)-ia, (894 B.C.), for the second time Adad-nirari "went to the aid of Kumme" and captured and burned four more cities in Kirhi, those that had withheld tribute imposed the year prior (section 372). Then in the month Simanu (May/June) of that same year, for the "fifth (sic.) time" – a scribal error which should read "seventh time" - he marched against Hanigalbat, north and south" receiving tribute (section 373), during which time Adad-nirari finally acknowledged his victory over Hanigalbat.

> "The tribute of Hanigalbat, north and south I received. The whole of the wide land of Hanigalbat I brought under my sway. To the territory of my land I turned it. I made them all subject to one rule." (Luckenbill ARAB 115, sect 373)

During the last leg of this round trip journey collecting tax and tribute, Adad-nirari travelled down the length of the Khabur River valley, from Guzanu (present day Tel Halaf, which some would argue is the site of the Mitanni capital Washukkanni) to "Siuki, situated at the base of the Khabur, on the south bank of the Euphrates", then east along the Euphrates to the towns of Lake and Hindani in the district of Suhu, then back across the Euphrates and overland to Assur. The entire tribute collecting journey probably took less than a month, since the Assyrian army stopped only a day or two at each location. The whole of the year 894 thus far is confined to two sections of Luckenbill's translation (sections 372-373). No further campaigns by Adad-nirari are mentioned in the annals. In the final sections of the annals (374-76) the Assyrian king boasts of his actions rebuilding the infrastructure of the country and describes at some length his prowess at hunting. Were it not for the reference in the Synchronistic History, we would know nothing of his second major campaign against Karduniash. What we can say to conclude this brief excursus is that the campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin could easily have taken place in the fall of 894 B.C. And why is that important?

A glance at our Figure 2 reminds us that Ashuruballit was in Babylon in 894 BC, deposing and killing Nazi-Bugash and installing his grandson Kurigalzu II as the Kassite king. It is not critical that the date of this action was 894 BC, rather than 893 or even 892, since there is some "wiggle-room" in the dates we have assigned to the installation of Kurigalzu II (see our discussion of the subject in paper #1). But we are reluctant to change the date of Ashuruballit's "visit" unless compelled to do so. And we cannot help but assume that the two incidents are related, i.e. that in the fall of 894 BC the Assyrian army, perhaps led by Ashuruballit, entered Karduniash, probably encountering minimal opposition, perhaps none at all.

And while there Ashuruballit, assisted by the Assyrian army, instigated the regime change. We could, if necessary, assume that the invasion was timed to avoid confrontation with the Kassites, but in this case the installation of Kurigalzu was probably sanctioned by, if not requested by, the Kassites.

Let the reader decide.

Argument 2. Adad-nirari II – The Annals

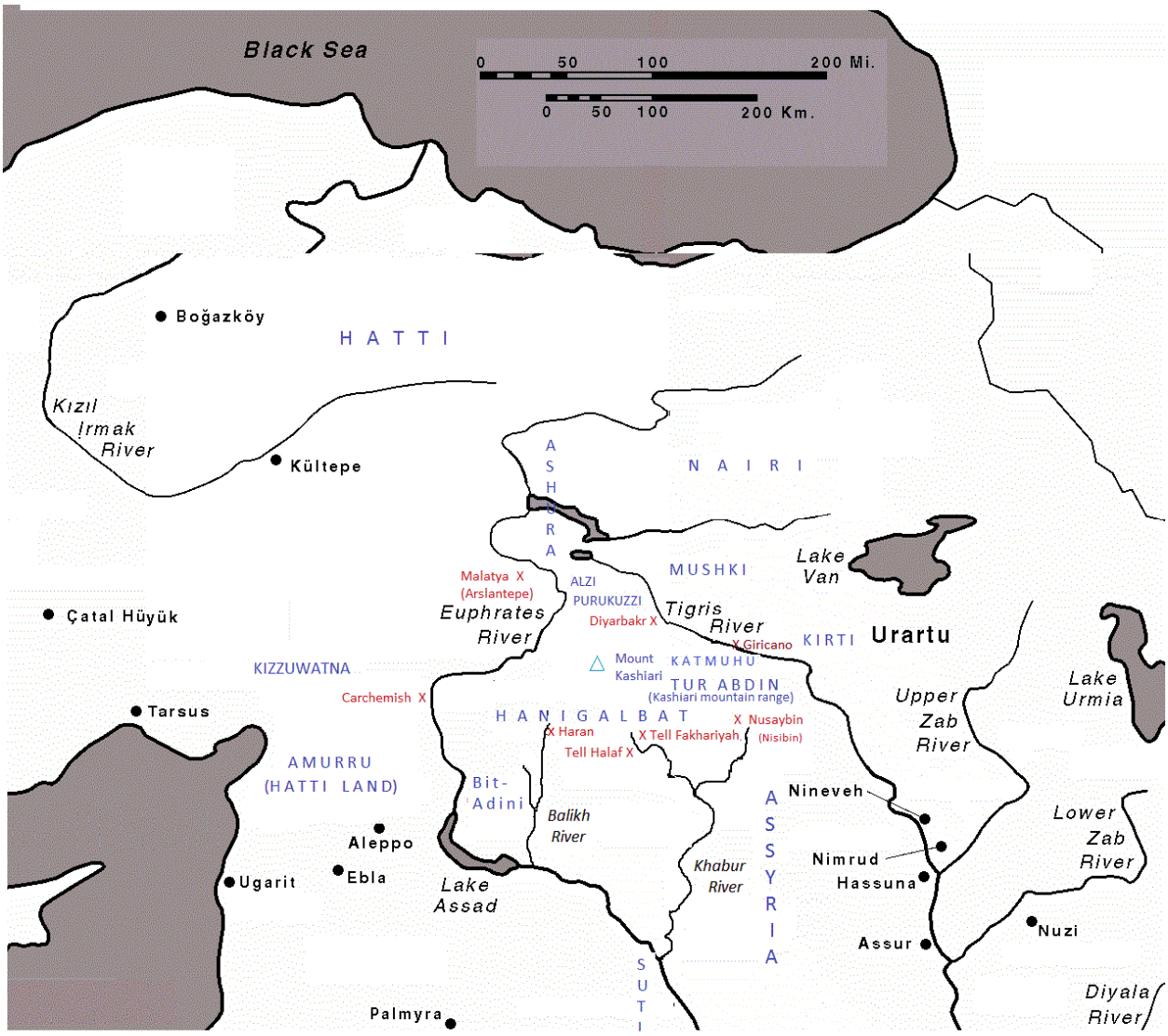
The second argument we outline in support of our 10th/9th century timeline concerns the annals of Adad-nirari II viewed as a whole. In the last section we discussed only a few lines of text concerned with that king's campaign against Shamash-mudammiq. And we took the opportunity, when referencing the Assyrian campaign against Adad-shuma-ukin I, to review sections 371 and 372 of the annals. Here we are concerned with all sections of that document, with emphasis on their interpretation and with particular attention paid to the timing of the campaigns against Hanigalbat. We divide our discussion into three sections, namely, A) the history leading up to the annals, B) the historical background to the campaigns themselves and C) the annals themselves. This will take some time. Hopefully it will be time well spent.

A. The past: Assyrian history leading up to the annals.

By the time Adad-nirari II came on the scene in 911 B.C. the Mitanni, a nation consisting of a Hurrian population base with ethnic Indo-European leadership, had existed in the northern extremities of Mesopotamia, particularly in regions immediately north and north-east of Assyria, for at least four hundred years. Their homeland, referred to consistently as Hanigalbat in Assyrian documents, varied in extent over time, but by the late 12th century B.C. it appears to have stretched east to west from the western bend of the Euphrates to the Tigris, passing through the headwaters of the Balikh and Khabur Rivers, and extending northward to the Tigris, as that river wraps around the mountain range known variously as the Kashiari mountains or, to use the modern name, the Tur-'Abdin. Below we have included a map which may assist the reader in appreciating the relevant geography (see Figure 4).

This description of the region occupied by the Mitanni, including the related alterations to the land mass occupied by the Assyrians and the Arameans, was changed in varying degrees during three key periods of Assyrian history, namely, 1) during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076), 2) during the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1012-972), and finally 3) during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935). We will examine these time frames in chronological order. If our analysis is correct, we should end up in a good position to evaluate what is happening in the annals of Adad-nirari II where the Mitanni, the Assyrians, and the Arameans play a major role.

Figure 4: Map showing the region of Hanigalbat, homeland of the Mitanni



i) Tiglath-Pileser I.

Though Hanigalbat likely stretched to the Tigris River, to the north and north-east of Assyria at the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser 1 (1114-1076), very early in this king's reign much of the land mass bordering that River, running north from Nineveh and extending through the region of Katmuhu, and beyond into the city states of Alzi and Purukuzzi (see Figure 4), was forfeited to the Assyrians. Much of that land mass belonged to the Mitanni and to related Hurrian tribes. Annals from the first five years of Tiglath-Pileser I describe in detail his conquests in these areas. Documents from this king's reign also attest to the beginnings of aggression against both Babylon and Assyria by semi-nomadic desert dwellers from south and east of the Euphrates, tribal groups referred to in Assyrian documents as Arameans, if not by their tribal names. The movement of these Arameans across the Euphrates, threatening both

Babylonia and Assyria, increased in intensity throughout the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I and beyond for well over a century and a half. Since the Arameans occupy the extreme eastern region of Hanigalbat at the time of Adad-nirari II, and are the object of his campaigns against that region, we need to briefly examine how they arrived in that location, and precisely what was their relationship with the Mitanni. Thus our discussion of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I.

Fortunately, Tiglath-Pileser I is the first Assyrian king to have authored detailed annals, at least annals that have survived to the present. Unfortunately, those annals only document the first five years of his reign. Fortunately again, five years is sufficient to establish this king as one of the most successful military campaigners in Assyrian history. For the most part, to avoid being unnecessarily side-tracked, we will ignore the bulk of his annals, save for the following two paragraphs which summarize their content. The reader interested in more detail can peruse the annals in translation for himself/herself either on pages 72-91 of the 1926 translation by Daniel David Luckenbill in his Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I [ARAB] or on pages 12-31 of A. Kirk Grayson's 1991 publication entitled Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I (1114-859 BC) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers or RIMA 2].

The five years documented in the annals witnessed the Assyrian army marching through largely mountainous territory north as far as the Black Sea, eastward to the vicinity of Lake Van and the headwaters of the Upper Zab River, north and east as far as Ashura and across the Euphrates to the region of Milidia (modern Malatya, Mildish in ARAB), and eastward along the Euphrates to its western bend. There Tiglath-Pileser crossed the Euphrates and conquered the land of Amurru, ending up on the shore of the Mediterranean, where he washed his weapons in the Sea and then went on a Mediterranean hunting expedition/cruise. One of the regions emphasized in the annals was the area of Katmuhu, mentioned above, bordering the south side of the Tigris as that River takes a westerly turn north of the Tur 'Abdin range. Twice he visited this area, the second time after the neighboring territory of Kirti had come to the aid of the defeated cities of Kutmuhi. In the end, Tiglath-pileser won the day, bringing this territory back into the Assyrian fold. In our next paper we will have cause to revisit this region and comment on these campaigns, this in order to correct a faulty interpretation of the recent archaeological excavation of the ruins at Giricano (see Figure 4 above).

Tiglath-Pileser himself is impressed by his conquests, and boasts of them in a summary statement near the end of his annals.

> In all, forty-two lands and their princes from beyond the Lower Zab, a region of distant hills, unto the further side of the Euphrates, and the land of Hatti and the Upper Sea of the West, from the beginning of my rule up to the fifth year of my reign, my hand has conquered. I have made them to be under one rule; I have taken hostages from them, and have laid tribute and tax upon them. – This does not include many other wars against enemies who could not oppose my might. – I have pursued them in my chariots where the country was good, and on foot where it was difficult. I have kept back the foot of the enemy from my land. (ARAB 85, sect 245)

Before leaving the annals behind it is important to note that in those five years of campaigning Tiglath-Pileser mentions Hanigalbat only once, and includes a rare mention of the name Mitanni once also. The first reference is found in year 3 of the annals, those documenting the campaign against the lands of Nairi, in the section describing military actions taken against the city of Milidia (Malatya).

> The broad lands of Nairi in their length and breadth I brought under my sway, and all their kings I brought into subjection at my feet. In the course of this campaign I marched against the city of Milidia, which is in the land of Hanigalbat, (with its) haughty and rebellious (people). They took fright at the approach of my mighty battle array, and embraced my feet. I had mercy upon them and did not capture that city. I took their hostages and one homer of magnesium ore for offerings, as a yearly tribute which should never cease, I laid on them. (ARAB, 82, sect. 237)

The reference to Mitanni is equally brief. It occurs near the end of the annals where the king documents his hunting skills, and boasts of having killed nearly a thousand lions, ten elephants, and four enormous wild bulls, at least one of which came from Hanigalbat.

> At the bidding of Urta [Ninurta], who loves me, four wild bulls (aurochs), which were mighty and of monstrous size, in the desert, in the country of Mitani, and near to the city of Araziki, which is over against the land of Hatti … (ARAB 86, sect. 247)

Scholars refer to the near absence of Mitanni references as proof of their claim that the glory days of this nation are long since past, that Hanigalbat was marginalized almost two centuries earlier in the days of Adad-nirari I (1295-1264) and his son Shalmaneser I (1263-1234). Inscriptions of these two kings confirm that Hanigalbat was devasted by them in a series of attacks, and what was left of the nation was made a vassal state of Assyria. All this happened during the reigns of the Mitanni kings Shattuara I, his son Wasashatta, and his grandson Shattuara II (see the Wikipedia list of Mitanni kings here, revised below in Table 1).

We have already noted the fact that this view of history is not correct, that during the reigns of Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I the "Empire period" of the Mitanni is not ancient history, it lies almost three centuries in the future. Besides, in the one quoted section from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, Mitanni is referred to as a "country" and the other confirms the fact that Hanigalbat, in the late 12th century, extends as far north and east as Milatya, a city sufficiently well-fortified that Tiglath-Pileser refrained from attacking it, excusing his inaction with a face-saving reference to his benevolence. The Assyrian king's reference to the taking of hostages and the collection of tribute (however trivial) can be passed off as mere propaganda. Clearly Hanigalbat still occupies its traditional boundaries, and if anything it was, prior to the Assyrian campaigns at least, more expansive than at any time prior. If the critic should enquire as to the reason the name Hanigalbat does not occur elsewhere in Tiglath-Pileser's annals we would argue that the nation, at this stage in history, was sufficiently strong militarily to discourage thoughts of conquest by Tiglath-Pileser I. Consequently, he did not invade the traditional Mitanni homeland running westward through the headwaters of the Khabur to the Euphrates. Not confronting the Mitanni in battle, he had no reason to include the name among campaigns documented in his annals.

Table 1 – List of Mitanni kings according to the Revised History
(The table is copied from the Wikipedia article on the Mitanni, then revised
by moving kings Shattuara I, Wasashatta, and Shattuara II
from the end to the beginning of the list. The dates are added by this author.)

Rulers	Reigned	Comments
Shattuara	Early 13th C	Mitanni becomes vassal of Assyria under Adad-nirari I
Wasashatta	Late 13th C.	Son of Shattuara
Shattuara II	Late 13th C	Son of Wasashatta
Kirta		
Shuttarna I		Son of Kirta
Parshatatar or Parrattarna	1010-990	Son of Kirta
Shaushtatar	990-970	Contemporary of Idrimi of Alalakh, Sacks Ashur
Artatama I	970-950	Treaty with Pharaoh Thutmose IV of Egypt, Contemporary of Pharaoh Amenhotep II of Egypt
Shuttarna II	950-935	Daughter marries Pharaoh Amenhotep III of Egypt in his year 10
Artashumara		Son of Shutarna II, brief reign
Tushratta	935-900	Contemporary of Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites and Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV of Egypt, Amarna letters
Artatama II		Treaty with Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites, ruled same time as Tushratta
Shuttarna III		Contemporary of Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites
Shattiwaza or Kurtiwaza		Mitanni becomes vassal of the Hittite Empire

So much for the Mitanni. The other key player in this drama are the Arameans. Only once in his initial five years does Tiglath-Pileser I mention this nomadic group. This reference comes during his year 4 campaign where the Ahlami, one of these nomadic tribes, are listed among his conquests.

> With the help of Assur, my lord, I led forth my chariots and warriors and went into the desert. Into the midst of the Ahlami, Arameans, enemies of Assur, my lord, I marched. The country from Suhi to the city of Carchemish, in the land of Hatti, I raided in one day. I slew their troops, their spoil, their goods, and their possessions in countless numbers, I carried away. The rest of their forces, which had fled from before the terrible weapons of Assur, my lord, and had crossed over the Euphrates, - in pursuit of them I crossed the Euphrates in vessels made of skins. Six of their cities, which lay at the foot of the mountain of Beshri, I captured, I burned with fire, I laid (them) waste, I destroyed (them). Their spoil, their goods and their possessions I carried away to my city Assur. (ARAB, p. 83, sect. 239)

There follows a gap of almost twenty years till we hear from Tiglath-Pileser again regarding the Arameans. When the subject is broached again it appears that the Arameans are far from

defeated, but have grown in numbers and emerged as perhaps the number one threat to Assyrian sovereignty in upper Mesopotamia. The following quote from Edward Lipinski's book *The Arameans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* [Liipinski, Arameans] must suffice to summarize the details:

> Summarizing his campaigns against the Aramaeans, Tiglath-pileser I says in his later annalistic texts: "I have crossed the Euphrates twenty-eight times, twice in one year, in pursuit of the Aramaean Ahlamu (kur Ah-la-me-e kur Ar-ma-a-ia mesh). I brought about their defeat from the city Tadmar (Palmyra) of the land Amurru, Anat of the land Suhu, as far as the city Rapiqu of Karduniash (Babylonia). I brought their booty (and) possessions to my city Ashur" (Lipinski, Arameans 35-36).

And still later, probably now thirty five years into his reign, a Babylonian Chronicle reveals the escalating chaotic situation:

> A somewhat different picture of the events emerges from a fragment of a Middle Assyrian chronicle which describes a serious famine that occurred in the later part of Tiglath-pileser's reign, probably in 1082 and 1081. The Assyrians, pressured by starving Aramean tribes, took then refuge in Kirruri, in the Zagros area, northeast of Erbil, and the Aramaeans probably captured Nineveh before Tiglath-pileser I could respond to the threat by marching to Katmuhu, on the eastern edge of the Tur 'Abdin, from which the Aramaeans had apparently pushed their way into Assyria proper by advancing down the Tigris river. *The text, though very fragmentary and in parts obscure*, certainly refers to the "houses" or clans of the Aramaeans, without characterizing them as Ahlamu. (Lipinski, Arameans 36).

The last two quoted paragraphs are without doubt a source, though by no means the major source, of the scholarly opinion that a few cities formerly belonging to Assyria, and certainly much of the land mass between Nineveh and the Tur 'Abdin mountains, traditionally part of eastern Hanigalbat, became an Aramean state at this time. That opinion is totally incorrect, if based on the 13 lines of text in this extremely damaged "Middle Assyrian chronicle". This document, known by the title "Chronicle of Tiglath-Pileser", can be read on the Livius website here or below as translated by Lipinski. We suggest that the reader peruse both translations, which differ quite radically, and decide for himself/herself if that text justifies the conclusions based upon it.

Table 2: Text of the "Chronicle of Tiglath-pileser".
Translated by Edward Lipinski on page 36 of *The Arameans*.

2) "[…], the people ate flesh of each other, […]
3) […} the 'houses' of the Aramaeans
4) […] the relief, they seized the roads
5) […] they conquered, they took {the …] of Assyria.
6) […] to the mountains of Kirrur […] life.
7) […] took their [gold], silver, and all their property.
8) Marduk-nadin-ahhe passed away; Marduk-shapik-zeri,
9) [his son], entered [the house of his fathe]r. Marduk-nadin-ahhe had reigned 18 years.
10) […] the entire crops of the land of Assyria […]

11) […] became numerous, they seized (or: afflicted) the 'houses' of the Aramaeans,
12) […] the side of the fortress of Nineveh, the country downstream […]
13) [… Tiglath-pi]eser, the king of Assyria, [went] to Katmuhu"

Several features of this document need to be noted.

1. The cause of this unprecedented mass migration of Aramean tribes was an horrific famine, so severe that people resorted to eating human flesh. We assume that the Assyrians were also seriously affected by the famine, especially after their crops were plundered by starving Arameans.

2. The document actually describes two periods of famine, since two eponym years are referenced, one introducing lines 2-9 and the other lines 10-13. One famine possibly occurred several years after the first. The partial limmu references were not included in Lipinski's translation, but are translated in the Livius website publication.

3. During the first famine "something" was conquered and "something" belonging to Assyria was taken. The online translation reads "fortified cities" in the first instance. Lipinski is unable to read this section of the damaged inscription. The second "something" is probably a reference to Assyrian crops. The possibility exists that the document is describing the progress of the Aramean advance into Assyria from Babylonia, and if so the conquered item was likely a Babylonian possession, since this first famine reference seems to have both nations in mind. This would explain the insertion of details related to the Babylonian kings in verses 8 and 9. The death of the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-ahhe (1099-1082), presumably as a result of the famine or at the hands of the advancing Arameans, serves also to date this famine to the year 1082 BC.

4. The opinion of scholars that the Arameans at this time conquered and inhabited large swaths of land and numerous cities between Nineveh and the Tur 'Abdin, is actually not based on the Assyrian Chronicle at all. Rather, it is based primarily on another document, and the opinion thus formed has unduly influenced the translation and interpretation of the Chronicle. The document we refer to is popularly known as the *Broken Obelisk.* According to scholars the inscription on this monument was written less than a decade after the first famine, and possibly as early as three of four years after the second famine. And in that document the Arameans are clearly in control of a large land mass and multiple cities lying between Nineveh and the Tur 'Abdin, an area that the Obelisk calls the "land of Arime", i.e. the land of an Aramean tribe called the Arime, from which the name Aramean likely derives. And this state of affairs demands that the Chronicle inscription be interpreted as an Aramean conquest. But as we will explain momentarily, the Broken Obelisk has been misdated by upwards of a century. It belongs to the middle of the 10th century, not the 11th.

5. Curiously, no mention is made of the whereabouts of Tiglath-Pileser I during the first famine, leading us to presume that he and his army were out of the country on a campaign, a fact which explains how the Arameans managed to infiltrate and loot parts of Assyria with no apparent response by the king. When we quote Brinkman in a moment we will be informed precisely where the Babylonian army was at the time. Meanwhile the reader can take an educated guess, since the middle lines of the Chronicle mention the death of the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-ahhe.

6. We assume that when Tiglath-Pileser returned from his campaign he immediately drove the unwanted Arameans from Assyria. That fact may well have been mentioned in the elided portions of the tablet. Certainly by the time of the second famine he and his army are present in Assur, and appear to have to have limited the advance of the Arameans, though to be fair the damaged text makes interpretation extremely difficult. The Livius translation states that the Arameans tribes "increased and seized the bank of the Tigris, whence they plundered the district of Nineveh" while Lipinski, an extremely well qualified Assyriologist, provides a translation that suggests that the military action is directed against the Aramean tribes (lit. houses) in the vicinity of Nineveh. Clearly we should treat both translations with caution. And any attempt to interpret the concluding reference to Tiglath-Pileser leading his army to Katmuhu, an Assyrian town on the Tigris on the east side of the Tur 'Abdin, would be sheer guesswork.

We argue in this paper that by the time of the death of Tiglath-Pileser I in 1076 B.C., five years after the first famine, there were no Arameans remaining in Assyria, and that Hanigalbat (i.e. the Mitanni) still existed on the land between the Tur 'Abdin and the headwaters of the Balikh and Khabur Rivers, while Assyria continued to have a tenuous hold on the northern Tigris regions formerly belonging to Hanigalbat (or minimally to a related Hurrian population).

We devote our next paper in its entirety to proving our contention that the "Broken Obelisk" is misdated. We restrict our comments here to the next few paragraphs. Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) was succeeded briefly by Asharid-apal-Ekur (1075-74) and then by Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056), who is today credited with authoring the whole of this controversial monument inscription. The first four columns of text on this monument contain the annals of an unidentified king whose campaigns are directed primarily against the aforementioned "land of Arime". If we are correct and Tiglath-Pileser I had freed that area of its Aramean occupants by the end of his reign, then it is clearly impossible that they had re-occupied the region as little as three years later? The dating of that monument must change.

On the other hand, for adherents of the traditional history there is no doubt that Ashur-bel-kala inherited a kingdom already occupied by Arameans, an opinion based entirely on the Broken Obelisk. Thus we read in the reference book authored by Trevor Bryce entitled "The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia:

> In Assyrian texts from the late M2 [= 2nd millennium] onwards, Hanigalbat appears as a land occupied by Aramaean peoples. It is referred to as such by the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056) (RIMA 2: 102). (Bryce, RHPP, 287-88, s.v. Hanigalbat)

To which we reply that the Broken Obelisk, though correctly interpreted, is wrongly attributed. It was definitely not authored by Ashur-bel-kala, in spite of near unanimous scholarly opinion to the contrary. Instead we argue that the annals contained in the first four columns of the Broken Obelisk belong to Tiglath-Pileser II and the fifth column was authored by Adad-nirari II! We are not guessing. We are firmly convinced of these facts, though proving them, as stated, will occupy the whole of our next paper.

Before moving on to the second "key juncture" in the fortunes of Assyria, Mitanni and the Arameans, we should at least comment on the extent of the famine in the days of Tiglath-Pileser I, mentioned twice already. Brinkman, an advocate of the dual famine theory, provides us with an analysis of the reign of Marduk-nadin-ahhe (1099-1082), the Babylonian king contemporary with Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) at the time of the famine, informing us, as the reader has no doubt already surmised, that during the first famine the Assyrian king was absent doing battle with this 4th (Isin) dynasty "king of Babylon".

> Having thus discussed the dating of four major events of Marduk-nadin-ahhe's reign (1099-1082) which were connected with the Assyrians or Arameans, I wish to propose a chronologically ordered but admittedly hypothetical account of Babylonian foreign relations at this time. After the first five years of his reign, Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1976) was largely concerned with campaigns against his enemies to the west, especially the Ahlamu Arameans. In his inscriptions he noted that he crossed the Euphrates twenty-eight times to do battle against these Arameans and that he defeated them over a wide area ranging from Carchemish and the foot of the Lebanon to Rapiqu on the northwestern border of Babylonia. Save for a battle in his second year against mountaineers south of the Lower Zab, he left the region east of the Tigris pretty well alone. Marduk-nadin-ahhe, on the other hand, in the early years of his reign consolidated the provincial holdings of Babylonia between the Lower Zab and the Diyala. He defeated Assyria in a minor battle in the border regions there about his ninth year and had earlier dared a raid into the Assyrian homeland against Ekallate, north of Assur itself, when he had stolen the statues of the gods Adad and Shala from the town. Probably sometime during Marduk-nadin-ahhe's last years of reign, Tiglath-Pileser tried to even the score. On his first attempt, Tiglath-Pileser mustered all the chariotry he had available in the region of the Lower Zab and drew up his forces in battle formation opposite the city of Arzuhina. The outcome of the battle is unstated, but Tiglath-Pileser had to content himself with despoiling the area between the Lower Zab and the Adhaim and a few villages across the Adhaim. Thwarted in his attempts in the northeastern provinces of Babylonia, Tiglath-Pileser then spent the rest of his campaign despoiling the land of Suhi on the middle Euphrates.
>
> In the next year, Tiglath-Pileser bypassed the Babylonian provincial strongholds around Lubdu and marched down the Tigris into northern Babylonia. His chariotry fought a victorious battle against the outflanked forces of Marduk-nadin-ahhe at a place which the Synchronistic History calls Gur-mar-ri-ti. Tiglath-Pileser then captured the principal cult centers of northern Babylonia: Dur-Kurigalzu, the Sippars of Shamash and Annunitum, Babylon, and Opis. At Babylon he burnt the palace of Marduk-nadin-ahhe, but retired without recapturing the purloined gods of Ekallate.
>
> Not too long after this, Babylonia and Assyria were afflicted with a common scourge, famine. This hardship drove the semi-nomad Arameans, who relied on trade with the settled peoples of Mesopotamia

> for some of their food, into the cultivated lands to seek sustenance by force. This famine is dated in the eighteenth year of Marduk-nadin-ahhe, and it became so severe that people resorted to eating human flesh. In the midst of this crisis, Marduk-nadin-ahhe disappeared from power; and his vanishing from the political scene is recorded in an Assyrian chronicle with the cryptic phrase *shada emid*, for which the best translation seems simply to be "he disappeared." Subsequently, another famine and Aramean invasion were to force Tiglath-Pileser to retire to the outlying region of Katmuhi for safety. In these days, the Arameans, who had long been the object of military campaigns by Tiglath-Pileser, became for the first time a direct menace to the heartlands of Assyria and Babylonia. **The Arameans and their semi-nomadic confreres were to prove a major factor in the political decline of Babylonia and Assyria over the next two centuries.** Brinkman, PKB, 128-130. (emphasis added)

We proceed to follow up on Brinkman's last sentence and investigate the political fortunes of the Arameans and Assyrians over the next several centuries. And for good measure we will evaluate the changing landscape of Hanigalbat as well.

While Tiglath-Pileser I managed to minimize the damage caused by the Arameans, his successors were not so successful. Through the reigns of the next seven kings, thus through the years 1076-1013, the Aramean threat to both the Mitanni and the Assyrians continued, though largely held in check.

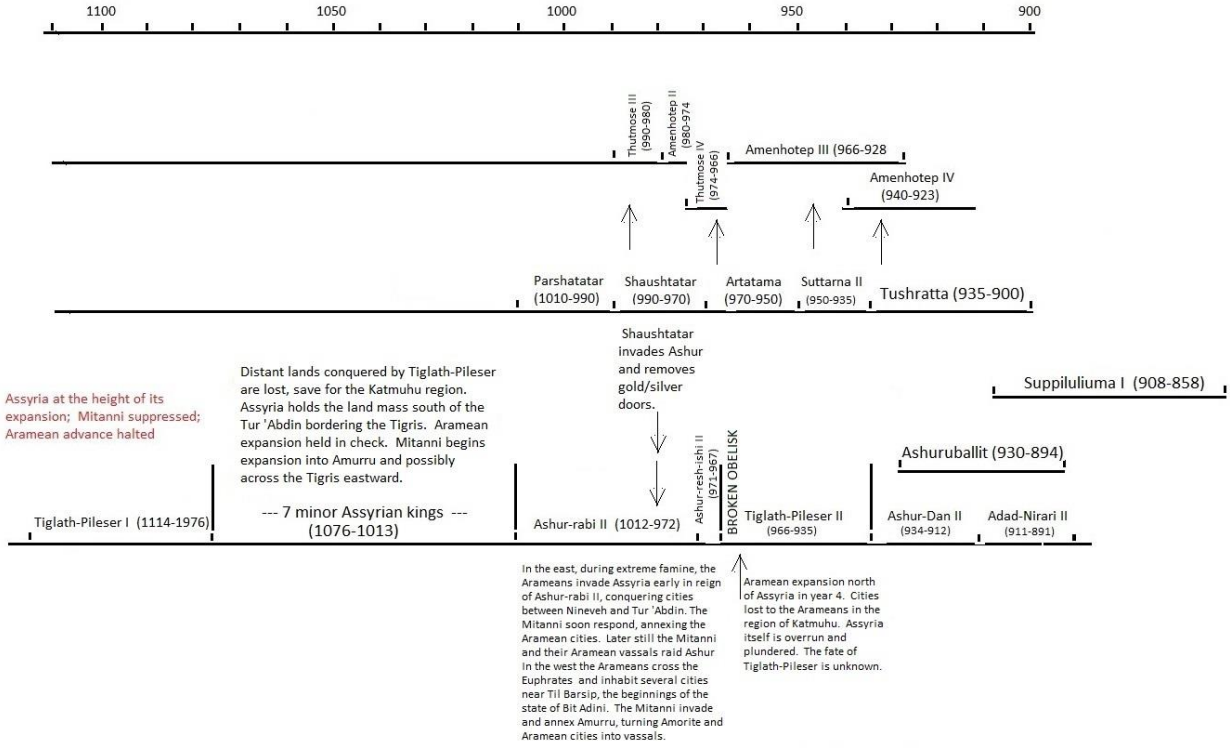
Almost all of the distant lands conquered by Tiglath-Pileser I were lost by the Assyrians, reverting to the control of their former occupants. This would include much of the land mass east of the Tigris running north to the vicinity of Lake Van, including territories north of the Tigris after the river makes its westward turn, thus through the lands of Mushki and Nairi to the Black Sea, and westward to the headwaters of the Tigris and across the Euphrates to the border of Hatti. Amurru, between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, reverted into Aramean and Amorite hands. No military campaigns were necessary. These lands simply stopped paying tribute to the Assyrian kings and those kings were not sufficiently strong to respond. The Assyrians did manage to hold on to a narrow strip of land between Assyria and the Tur-Abdin and the region of Katmuhu north of those Kashiari foothills to the south bank of the Tigris, though late in this time frame or early in the next, the Mitanni re-occupied some of this land as they expanded east across the Tigris.

In the west, late in this time frame, the Mitanni moved across the Euphrates into Amurru, ostensibly to assist the Amorite and Aramean city states protect themselves against the threat of Assyrian aggression. This was a mistake, since early in the reign of Ashur-rabi II, whose reign we discuss next, the Mitanni under their king Parshatatar, forcibly conquered the country. The Mitanni, as noted in the previous paragraph, also expanded eastward late in this time frame (or early in the next), crossing the Tigris engulfing cities to the east and to the south as far as Nuzi. These increases in land mass by the Mitanni were a reflection of their increasing strength and growing Assyrian weakness. The Arameans, meanwhile were largely held at bay, again the result of increasing Mitanni strength, as we enter the period we refer to as the "Empire Period" of this nation, the height of its power.

Thus in the following chart (Figure 5), where we produce a timeline which follows the advance or regression of the three nations during the 63 year long time frame which separates the death of Tiglath-Pileser and the beginning of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, we summarize developments by adding the summary statement:

> Distant lands conquered by Tiglath-pileser I are lost save for Katmuhu . Assyria holds the land mass south of the Tur-'Abdin bordering the Tigris. Aramean expansion held in check. Mitanni begin expansion into Amurru and possibly across Tigris eastward.

Figure 5: Timeline documenting significant changes in the extent of lands occupied by Hanigalbat, Assyria, and the Arameans over a two century time frame ca. 1114-910 B.C.


1100
1050
1000
950
900
Thutmose III (990-980)
Amenhotep II (980-974)
Thutmose IV (974-966)
Amenhotep III (966-928
Amenhotep IV (940-923)
Parshatatar (1010-990)
Shaushtatar (990-970)
Artatama (970-950)
Suttarna II (950-935)
Tushratta (935-900)
Shaushtatar invades Ashur and removes gold/silver doors.
Suppiluliuma I (908-858)
Assyria at the height of its expansion; Mitanni suppressed; Aramean advance halted
Distant lands conquered by Tiglath-Pileser are lost, save for the Katmuhu region. Assyria holds the land mass south of the Tur 'Abdin bordering the Tigris. Aramean expansion held in check. Mitanni begins expansion into Amurru and possibly across the Tigris eastward.
Ashuruballit (930-894)
Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1976)
--- 7 minor Assyrian kings --- (1076-1013)
Ashur-rabi II (1012-972)
Ashur-resh-ishi II (971-967)
BROKEN OBELISK
Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935)
Ashur-Dan II (934-912)
Adad-Nirari II (911-891)
In the east, during extreme famine, the Arameans invade Assyria early in reign of Ashur-rabi II, conquering cities between Nineveh and Tur 'Abdin. The Mitanni soon respond, annexing the Aramean cities. Later still the Mitanni and their Aramean vassals raid Ashur In the west the Arameans cross the Euphrates and inhabit several cities near Til Barsip, the beginnings of the state of Bit Adini. The Mitanni invade and annex Amurru, turning Amorite and Aramean cities into vassals.
Aramean expansion north of Assyria in year 4. Cities lost to the Arameans in the region of Katmuhu. Assyria itself is overrun and plundered. The fate of Tiglath-Pileser is unknown.

The chart shown above in Figure 5 includes portions of the Egyptian and Mitanni timelines needed for later reference. Much of this section can be neglected for the time being.

ii) Ashur-rabi II (1012-972).

During the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1012-972) Assyria lost even more of the land mass bequeathed to his successors by Tiglath-Pileser I. Around the year 1005 B.C., thus during the brief reign of the Babylonian 5th dynasty king Kashshu-nadin-ahi (ca. 1006-1004), "distress and famine" (BBSt 36 col I, pp 24-28) caused food offerings to the gods to cease, a state of affairs that continued into the reign of Eulmash-shakin-shumi (1004-987). Whether at this time or

slightly later, famine set in motion an Aramean advance resembling that which took place during the famines of the last years of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I, the difference being that this time the Arameans did establish a permanent presence immediately north-east of Assyria, which no doubt enlarged over the length of the reign of Ashur-rabi. Few inscriptions confirm that conclusion, but since what amounts to an Aramean state exists immediately to the north of Assyria by the time of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935) and remains in place at the beginning of the reign of Adad-nirari II (911-891), it is a near certainty that Arameans arrived *en masse* during the reign of Ashur-rabi II, and arguably during the initial years of that reign.

Two other arguments support that conclusion. On the one hand the cessation of food offerings to the gods in the time of Eulmash-shakin-shumi continued for decades after, and in Mesopotamian society the population would be left to starve before the gods would be deprived of food. Famine thus characterized the whole of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, and famine implied Aramean aggression, not just in Babylonia, but also in Assyria. Additionally we do have one later reference which singles out the reign of Ashur-rabi as a major source of Assyrian territorial loss to the Arameans. One of the few surviving annals from the reign of Ashur-dan II (934-912), unfortunately only partially preserved on badly damaged clay tablet fragments from Ashur, included the comment quoted below. According to Grayson, on page 131 of his *Assyrian Rulers*, these annals are "largely concerned with the Assyrian king's successful attempts to regain territory lost to such people as the Aramaeans and restoring this land to the Assyrians". The relevant section of Ashur-dan's annals refers to,

> I]ahanu, the land of the Aramaeans, which is behind the land Pi[…, which from the time of Ashur-ra]bi (II), king of Assyria, my forefather, the cities of the district of [my land, …] they captured for themselves; [I mustered] chariots (and) troops. [I plundered …] (and) inflicted upon them a major defeat. [Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers*, 133]

The Wikipedia article referencing Ashur-rabi II does allude to Aramean expansion at the western bend of the Euphrates, near Til Barsip, in an area across the Euphrates from "the mountain of Beshri" where Tiglath-Pileser I, a century earlier, had boasted of destroying six Aramean cities:

> Six of their cities, which lay at the foot of the mountain of Beshri, I captured, I burned with fire, I laid (them) waste, I destroyed (them). (quoted earlier in this paper on pages 17-18).

These earlier enclaves were likely part of the Aramean expansion caused by the great famine of 1082, destroyed soon after by the Assyrian king. But during the reign of Ashur-rabi, the Aramean expansion into this same general area (though across the Euphrates) likely remained, since scholars are in agreement that the Aramean state of Bit-Adini on the east side of the Euphrates, the location of Til Barsip, came into existence in the 10th century. Thus we read in the Ashur-rabi II Wikipedia article:

> Some Assyrian settlements on the Middle Euphrates were lost to the Arameans as they were able to cross the river and establish a network of autonomous but interrelated settlements that began to encroach on the Assyrian heartland. Šulmānu-ašarēdu III [= Shalmaneser III] recalled the loss of Ana-Aššur-utēr-aṣbat

> (Pitru, possibly Tell Aushariye) and Mutkinu, two towns close to Til Barsip, which had originally been taken and colonized by Tukultī-apil-Ešarra I [= Tiglath-pileser I] around a hundred years earlier.

Though few inscriptions from the reign of Ashur-rabi II exist to confirm the loss of Assyrian territory in the west and in the east, and while the Arameans themselves have left absolutely no records for posterity from this time frame, at least one reference to an action by the Mitanni does suggest that Assyria was seriously weakened, if not overrun, during the reign of Ashur-rabi II. We have already begun to add Mitanni kings to our timeline, and though dates are only approximate, they are at least accurate to within ten years in the time of Parshatatar and Shaushtatar. And in this schema the powerful Mitanni kings Parshatatar and Shaushtatar are dated ca. 1010-990 and 990-970 BC respectively (see Table 1 on page 17 and Figure 5 on page 23 above). It follows that Shaushtatar was ruling Hanigalbat throughout the last half of the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1012-972). The Wikipedia article on Shaushtatar will inform the reader that during his reign this king "invaded Assyria and sacked and looted its capital, Assur." In truth the evidence which backs this statement is an inscription which credits Shaushtatar only with looting some gold and silver doors from Assur to adorn his palace in the Mitanni capital Washukkanni. Though this does appear to suggest that the Mitanni at least participated in an assault on the Assyrian capital, it is conceivable that the raid on Assyria also involved the Arameans who, if we are correct, by this time inhabit the land mass bordered by the Tur 'Abdin to the north, the eastern headwaters of the Khabur River to the south and the Tigris River. In the next paragraph we will suggest the possibility, if not the probability, that "the land of Arime" has by this time become a vassal state of Hanigalbat and the Aramean vassals and the Mitanni overlords have combined forces to unseat the Assyrian king. Regardless, the "assault on" and "looting of" the city of Assur did not likely result in Assyria becoming a vassal state, at least judging from the one contemporary inscription of Ashur-resh-ishi II (971-967), son and successor of Ashur-rabi II. The clay cylinder inscription of this king describes repairs made to the damaged temple in Assur, damage likely resulting from the aforementioned attack on the city. This activity, in combination with the fact that his brief reign preceded by at most four years that of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935), suggests that Assyria survived the attack. Tiglath-Pileser II, at the beginning of his reign, was fully in control of Assyria and initiating attacks in the reverse direction, i.e. on the "land of Arime" in the region of eastern Hanigalbat.

The reign of Ashur-rabi II not only witnessed the encroachment into Assyria proper of the Arameans, it also saw the Mitanni conquering Amurru, a land held jointly by the Amorites and the Arameans since shortly after the death of Tiglath-Pileser I. This westward expansion, already alluded to in the previous section, apparently took place during the reign of the Mitanni king Parshatatar (aka Barattarna, Parattarna) whose approximate dates (1010-990) place him near the beginning of the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1012-972). Thus this westward advance, which turned the Arameans in Amurru into vassals provides a precedent for our claim in the previous paragraph that in the east the Mitanni had already overrun the Arameans in the "land of Arime", turning those Aramean cities into vassals of Hanigalbat.

We will mention the Mitanni conquest of Amurru again near the end of this paper, since the loss of this land mass to the Hittites during the latter part of the reign of Tushratta (935-900), a

century after it was conquered at the beginning of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, played a role in the ultimate victory of Adad-nirari II over Hanigalbat.

Resulting from this brief analysis of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, our Figure 5 chart summarizes the reigns of Ashur-rabi II and Ashur-resh-ishi II as follows:

> In the east, during extreme famine, the Arameans invade Assyria early in reign of Ashur-rabi II, conquering Assyrian cities between Nineveh and the Tur 'Abdin. Mitanni soon responds annexing the Aramean cities, turning them into a vassal state. Later still the Mitanni and their Aramean vassals raid Ashur. In the west the Arameans cross the Euphrates and inhabit several cities, the beginnings of the state of Bit-Adini. The Mitanni invade and annex Amurru, turning Amorite and Aramean cities into vassals.

iii) Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935).

And at long last we get to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, from whose reign only one document of any significance has survived, i.e. the Broken Obelisk, which contains annals from this king's initial four years.

In this paper we will say very little about the details of the campaigns recorded in columns 1-4 of the Obelisk inscription, except to say that at least a dozen times in those four columns Tiglath-Pileser is recorded as campaigning against the "land of Arime", a phrase that almost certainly refers to the region to the north-west of Assyria infiltrated by the Arameans early in the reign of Ashur-rabi II. While we speculated earlier that these conquered Assyrian cities were possibly annexed by the Mitanni soon after they were conquered by the Arameans, and thus collectively became a vassal state of Hanigalbat, it appears from Tiglath-Pileser's annals that they are regarded first and foremost as a state unto themselves, much as Amurru in the extreme west retained its traditional name, though vassal to the Mitanni kingdom. Hanigalbat is never mentioned in the Obelisk inscription. By the time of Adad-nirari II things have changed, and "the land of Arime" is constantly referred to as Hanigalbat, which according to this author at least, amounts to confirmation that it is part of the Mitanni kingdom. Prior to the publication of our next paper we suggest that the interested reader peruse the Broken Obelisk for himself/herself at either of two online sites, either on pages 118-125 of the 1926 translation by Daniel David Luckenbill in his timeless classic Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I [ARAB] or on pages 99-105 of A. Kirk Grayson's 1991 publication entitled Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I (1114-859 BC) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers = RIMA 2].

Our interest in the Obelisk inscription at this time is not with the details of the campaigns. We are more concerned with why the listing of the campaigns came to an abrupt end in column four, with the Obelisk as yet unfinished. We believe that something catastrophic must have taken place in Assyria to cause the scribe to abandon his work, and not return to complete it during the balance of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II. And since those annals are preoccupied with the conflict between Assyria and the "land of Arime" it is almost certain that the Arameans

have turned the tide, so to speak, and invaded the invader. It follows that in the 5th year of Tiglath-Pileser II, thus around 762 BC, an unprecedented Aramean invasion of upper Mesopotamia took place, enlarging the Aramean presence in the region both toward the north and south of the "land of Arime". Whether because of a resurgence of famine or simply an expansion in the number of Aramean tribes seeking an improved life style, we cannot say. Regardless, Aramean territorial expansion was the result. To the north the region of Katmuhu between the Tur 'Abdin and the Tigris was lost to the Assyrians. To the south Assyria was overrun, at least for the moment, adding to the number of cities controlled by the Arameans. Hanigalbat did not change appreciably at the time, though if the Arameans are indeed a vassal state, and are expanding their territory, it would follow that Hanigalbat is the ultimate beneficiary. We are now well within the Empire period of this nation, the time of its maximum strength. Shaushtatar is dead, but his son and grandson, Artatama and Shuttarna II, followed by Tushratta, would keep the nation strong through to the time of Suppiluliuma I. But Assyria did not fare well, and Tiglath-Pileser II likely witnessed the loss of multiple cities. It is almost certain that Assyria itself was overrun and plundered, and it is conceivable that Tiglath-Pileser II was taken captive for a time. We will probably never know exactly what happened, because no further records from the reign of this king have ever been located. If the reader were to do a Wikipedia search of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, he will discover a complete blank, along with an invitation for someone, anyone, to supply information on this king's reign. But here we are getting ahead of ourselves. In the next paper we will set the record straight.

The above discussion has prompted us to add the following summary statement to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II.

> Aramean expansion north of Assyria in year 5. Assyrian cities in the region of Katmuhu, between the Tur 'Abdin and the Tigris River, are lost to the Arameans. Assyria itself is overrun and undoubtedly plundered. The fate of Tiglath-Pileser II is unknown.

B. The present: Historical background to the campaigns against Hanigalbat

In the previous section we detailed what we believe to be an accurate summary of close to 200 years of Assyrian, Mitanni, and Aramean history, from the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I in 1114 BC to the end of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II in 935 BC. At the end of this time frame there existed in the north of Mesopotamia an Assyrian kingdom barely in control of its own highly confined region between the lower Khabur and the Tigris, and a Mitanni kingdom called Hanigalbat which stretched from the Euphrates to the Tigris, extending north to the Tur 'Abdin foothills, and beyond to the region of Katmuhu, south of the Tigris River. Part of this territory is governed by the Arameans, an enclave of vassal city states. This is precisely the situation that prevailed when Adad-nirari began his reign in 911 BC., suggesting that no major changes to the extent of the kingdoms of Assyria and Mitanni took place during the reign of Ashur-Dan II (934-912), though that king does boast of having recovered some of the cities lost to the Arameans in the days of Ashur-rabi II, most of which appear to lie east of the Tigris.

Having said that, we are still not quite ready to summarize and explain the content of the annals.

We have previously remarked on the fact that our knowledge of the Mitanni kings is wholly dependent on references to them in the literature of surrounding nations, primarily the Egyptians and the Hittites, this because Washukkanni, the capital city of Hanigalbat, has yet to be located and fully excavated. Before we look to Egypt and Hatti for more information that will assist us in interpreting the annals of Adad-nirari II, we need to briefly summarize what is presently known about Washukkanni, since we will encounter a possible reference to it in Adad-nirari II's annals.

Washukkanni is generally identified with either Tell Halaf or Tell Fakhariyah, mounds on the extreme west of the headwaters of the Khabur River (see Figure 4), where archaeologists, in the case of Tell Halaf (ancient Guzanu), have been unable to identify a strata associated with the Mitanni or, in the case of Tell Fakhariyah, have been unable to reach what they think is the Mitanni layer, because it lies below the present water level. Thus historians look elsewhere for information about the Mitanni kings, i.e. to Alalakh in north Syria on the west side of the Euphrates, to Nuzi on the east side of the Tigris, and perhaps most of all, to the Egyptians, the Empire Hittites, and the Assyrians.

For more insight into the situation vis-à-vis the city of Washukkanni we turn to Amanda H. Podany, in her discussion regarding the Mitanni kingdom, this from her 2010 publication "Brotherhood of Kings":

> The capital city of Mittani was at Washshukkanni. This city lay somewhere in or near the triangle of fertile land bounded by the rivers that flow south into the Khabur River, which in turn flows into the Euphrates. The area is now near Syria's border with Turkey, considerably to the north of Mari. The ancient capital hasn't been excavated yet – it's one of the great, undiscovered cities that will one day undoubtedly transform our understanding of the era. For decades, archaeologists and historians have thought that it may be beneath later occupation levels in the huge tell at a place called Tell Fakhariyah. Chemical analysis of the clay used for tablets written in Washshukkanni confirms that they came from somewhere in the area of Tell Fakhariyah. But it may be decades before the excavations there turn up anything from the time of Mittani.
>
> Without Washshukkanni, we have no archives belonging to the kings of Mittani, and unfortunately there's no other city that might be equivalent to the excavations at Ebla or Mari to provide details of the Mittani kings and their administrations. Here's a sobering fact: across all of Mittani, from a town called Nuzi in the far east to Alalakh, hundreds of miles away near the Mediterranean coast [*a distance of 500 miles as noted elsewhere by Podany*], only sixteen cuneiform documents have been found that include the names of kings of Mitanni and that were written during their reigns (some other documents have been found outside of Mitanni). Just sixteen. And these weren't royal inscriptions or annals or diplomatic letters. Most of them were contracts that include the seal of a king and a brief reference to the king. (Podany, *Brotherhood*, 134-135) [italicized comment added]

By far the most informative outside source for the Mitanni, at least for the dating of that nation, is the massive archive of 18th dynasty Egyptian tablets known as the Tell el Amarna

letters. Tablets unearthed at the El Amarna location in Egypt reveal that at least four of the kings of Mitanni, at the height of Mitanni power, were contemporaries of and interacted with four kings of the 18th dynasty of Egypt. Shaushtater was supposedly a confederate of Thutmosis III (1479-1425), Artatama gave a daughter in marriage to Thutmosis IV (1401-1391), likewise did Shuttarna II to Amenhotep III (1391-1353) and Tushratta to Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) (1353-1336). These Egyptian kings all lived either in the middle half of the 15th century B.C. or in the first half of the 14th century, this according to traditional historians. In our revised history they span the length of the 10th century. Tushratta, the most widely recognized name among these kings, is known to have authored as many as 13 Tell-el-Amarna documents, addressing eight letters to Amenhotep III (EA 17-24), one to Tiye, his widow (EA 26), and four to Amenhotep IV (EA 25, 27-29). The length of this article precludes our analyzing these letters. Here we merely use the itemized relationship facts to assist in positioning these kings on our timeline chart. Needless to say, our primary interest is in the king named Tushratta.

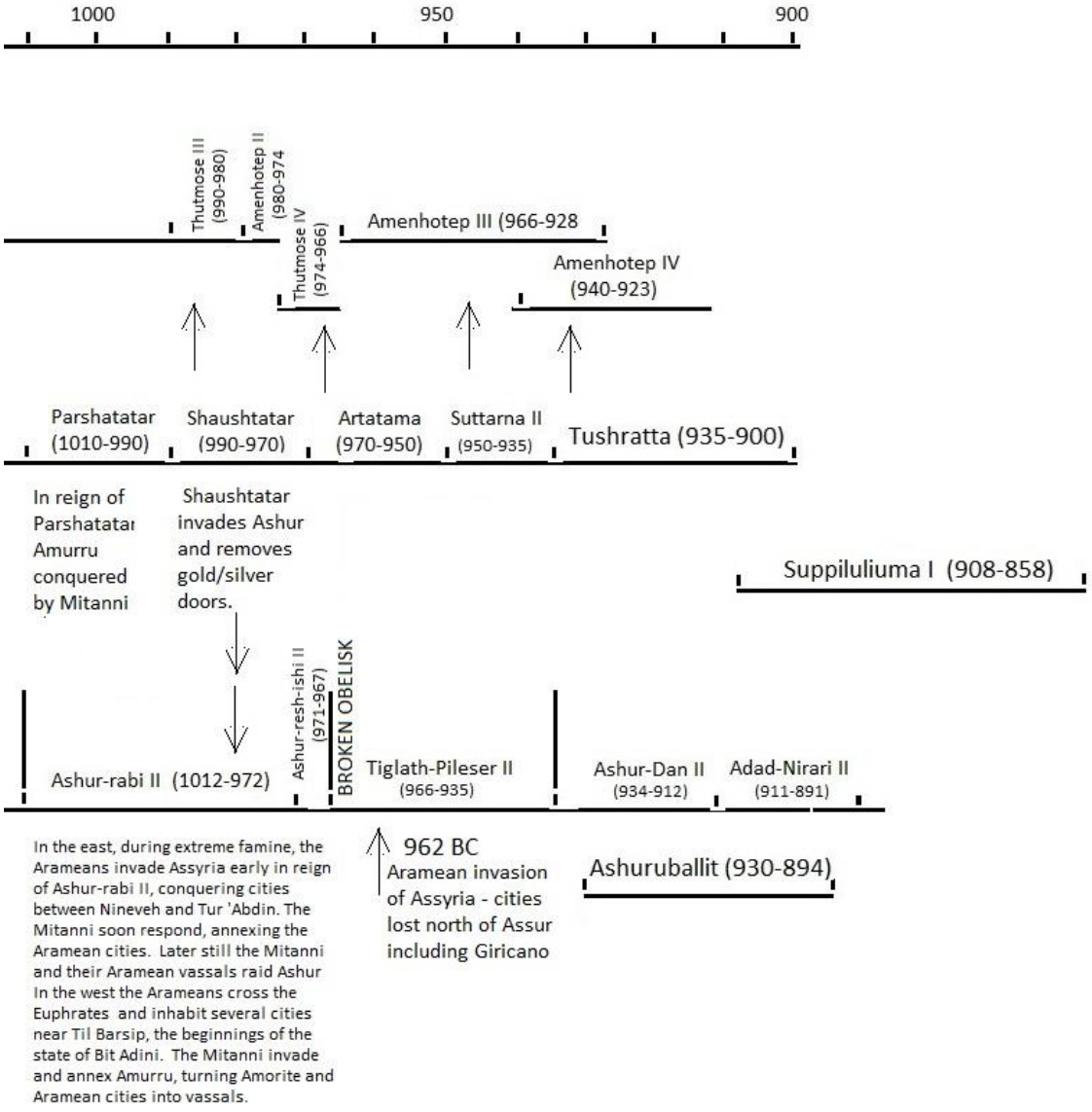
The positioning of the five Mitanni kings has already been diagrammed on the upper half of our Figure 5 chart on page 23 above. The right half of that chart has been duplicated on the following page (see Figure 6) for greater clarity. Though our interest at the moment concerns only the years 911-891 BC, the dates of Adad-nirari II, we need to momentarily "flash back" in time to the reign of the Mitanni king Parshatatar

When earlier we mentioned the reign of Parshatatar we mentioned only the fact that early in the reign of Ashur-rabi II this Mitanni king overran the land of Amurru, at the time composed of city states controlled by the Amorites and the Arameans, who thus became vassals of Hanigalbat. Here we want to flash-back to the time of this same king in order to include mention of the Hittites (and to a lesser extent the buffer state of Kizzuwatna), not because the Hittites are mentioned in the annals of Adad-nirari II, but because the interaction between the Mitanni and the Hittites is absolutely essential to the understanding and the interpretation of those annals. Thus we refer the reader to the Wikipedia article on Mitanni where in the summary section near the end of the article we read:

> King Barattarna [= Parshatatar] of Mitanni expanded the kingdom west to Halab (Aleppo) and made the Canaanite king Idrimi of Alalakh his vassal. The state of Kizzuwatna in the west also shifted its allegiance to Mitanni … The nation grew stronger during the reign of Shaushtatar, but the Hurrians [= the Mitanni] were keen to keep the Hittites inside the Anatolian highland. Kizzuwatna in the west, and Ishuwa in the north, were important allies against the hostile Hittites.
> After a few successful clashes with the Pharaohs over the control of Syria, Mitanni sought peace with Egypt and an alliance was formed. During the reign of Shuttarna in the early 14th century BC the relationship was very amicable, and he sent his daughter Gilu-Hepa to Egypt for a marriage with Pharaoh Amenhotep III. Mitanni was now at its peak of power …
> At the death of Shuttarna, Mitanni was ravaged by a war of succession. Eventually Tushratta, a son of Shuttarna, ascended the throne, but the kingdom had been weakened considerably and both the Hittite and Assyrian threats increased. At the same time, the diplomatic relationship with Egypt went cold, the Egyptians fearing the growing power of the Hittites and Assyrians. The Hittite king Suppiluliuma I invaded the Mitanni vassal states in northern Syria and replaced them with loyal subjects.

In the capital Washukkanni, a new power struggle broke out. The Hittites and the Assyrians supported different pretenders to the throne. Finally a Hittite army conquered the capital Washukkanni and installed Shattiwaza, the son of Tushratta, as their vassal king of Mitanni in the late 14th century BC. (sections of the Wikipedia article on the Mitanni)

Figure 6: Timeline of the 10th century Mitanni kings


1000
950
900
Thutmose III (990-980)
Amenhotep II (980-974
Thutmose IV (974-966)
Amenhotep III (966-928
Amenhotep IV (940-923)
Parshatatar (1010-990)
Shaushtatar (990-970)
Artatama (970-950)
Suttarna II (950-935)
Tushratta (935-900)
In reign of Parshatatar Amurru conquered by Mitanni
Shaushtatar invades Ashur and removes gold/silver doors.
Suppiluliuma I (908-858)
Ashur-resh-ishi II (971-967)
BROKEN OBELISK
Ashur-rabi II (1012-972)
Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935)
Ashur-Dan II (934-912)
Adad-Nirari II (911-891)
In the east, during extreme famine, the Arameans invade Assyria early in reign of Ashur-rabi II, conquering cities between Nineveh and Tur 'Abdin. The Mitanni soon respond, annexing the Aramean cities. Later still the Mitanni and their Aramean vassals raid Ashur In the west the Arameans cross the Euphrates and inhabit several cities near Til Barsip, the beginnings of the state of Bit Adini. The Mitanni invade and annex Amurru, turning Amorite and Aramean cities into vassals.
962 BC
Aramean invasion of Assyria - cities lost north of Assur including Giricano
Ashuruballit (930-894)

We have been somewhat selective in our quotations from the Wikipedia article, omitting sections that gratuitously added the names of 14th century Assyrian kings to the discussion, not because there are inscriptions which actually link these Assyrian kings to the Mitanni kings named in our Figures 5 and 6, but simply because of an assumed correspondence in dates between the Mitanni and Assyrian kings in this early time frame. In case we have not made the

point absolutely clear earlier, we repeat it here. There are absolutely no Assyrian documents from the 15th and 14th centuries, the time assumed in the traditional history to be the height of Mitanni power, which name the Mitanni kings found in our Figure 5. We are not surprised. The kings from Shaushtatar to Tushratta belong to the late 11th and the whole of the 10th centuries, not the 15th and early 14th centuries BC.

Having said that, we are in general agreement with the quoted discussion, save for the inclusion of 14th century dates cited for Shuttarna and Tushratta and some of the discussion related to Egypt. But that article has served its purpose, bringing us forward in time from the days of Parshatatar to the final years of the reign of Tushratta, when the fortunes of that king take an abrupt turn for the worse.

As for the Hittite participation in the decline of Mitanni fortunes at that time, we restrict our comments here to the early years of the Hittite Empire period. By the time that Suppiluliuma 1 (908-858) came on the scene we have fast forwarded from the time of Shaushtatar to the time of Tushratta. In the interim it appears that both Kissuwatna and Nuzi have been lost to the Mitanni, but Tushratta still has control of Amurru, as well as the original Mitanni homeland of Hanigalbat, stretching east west across the headwaters of the Balikh and Khabur Rivers from the Euphrates to the Tigris. But Suppiluliuma clearly had his sights set on Tushratta's holdings in upper Syria, if not on the whole of Hanigalbat. And with Kizzuwatna freed from Mitanni suzerainty, he has ready access to the conglomerate of city states in Amurru to the south, which became known subsequently as the "Hatti Lands". Soon after taking office Suppiluliuma conducted the first of two campaigns against the Mitanni, quickly assuming control of upper Syria (Amurru). Tushratta retreated east of the Euphrates, across from Carchemish, and awaited developments. Later still Suppiluliuma launched a second campaign, a surprise raid on Hanigalbat via a circuitous route across the northern extremities of the Euphrates headwaters, through the province of Ishuwa and south through northern Mesopotamia to attack Washukkanni from the north. The city may or may not have been overrun and completely destroyed. Scholars are divided on the issue. Regardless, Tushratta escaped, if he was even resident at his capital at the time. It is conceivable that the attack caught him totally by surprise, stranded along with the bulk of his army at his defensive position east of the Euphrates at its western bend, a hundred miles from Washukkanni. While he was awaiting a frontal attack across the Euphrates, Hanigalbat was overrun by the Hittites a hundred miles behind his back.

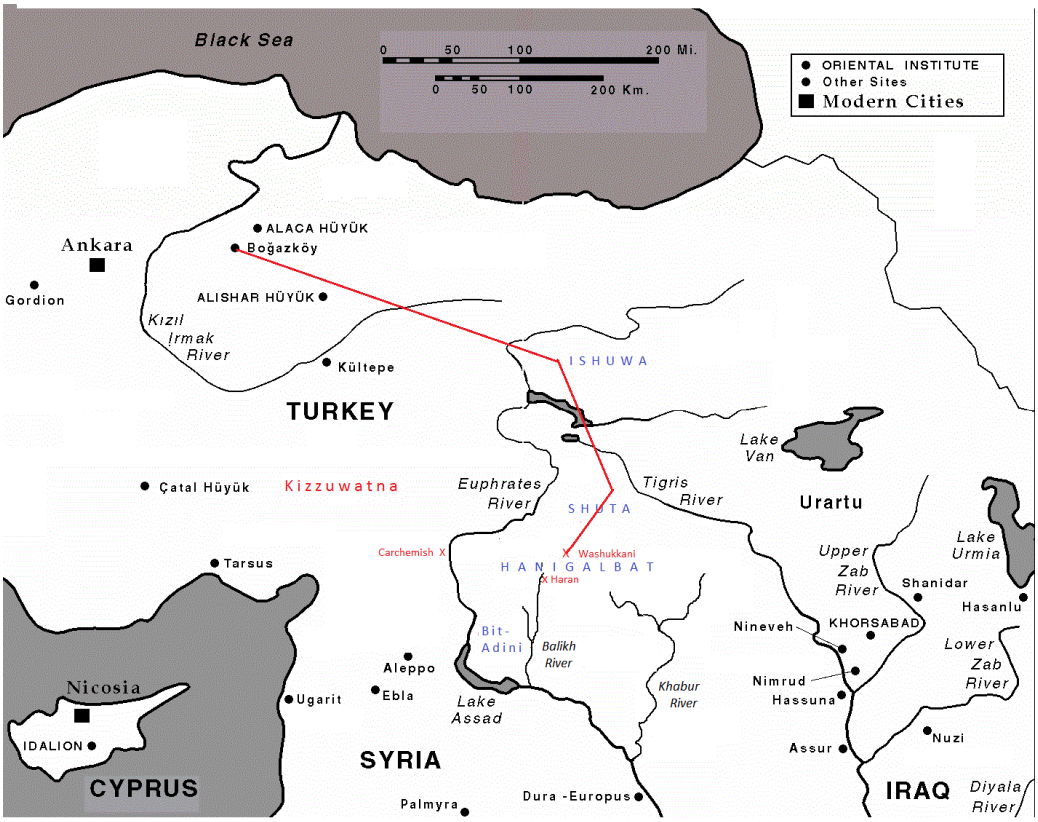
In Figure 7 on the next page, we diagram this second Hittite campaign, following details provided by Robert Mcroberts in a 2010 online article entitled "*The Great Syrian War; The Sack of Washukkanni*". Mcroberts in turn bases his description totally on the book by Trevor Bryce entitled "*Kingdom of the Hittites*", the only item cited as a source for the article. We need to make only one comment regarding this map. Since no-one knows for sure the location of Washukkanni, we have merely placed it in a convenient position for purposes of diagramming, north and east of the region where scholars traditionally place it. The reader should not assume that we are arguing that this location is correct.

The history of Mitanni continues on for several decades, but now the nation is considerably reduced in size and no longer in control of the region running east-west through the headwaters of the Khabur. Tushratta himself, not long after losing his Hanigalbat homeland, was assassinated by a nephew, though

his line of descendants continued in regions further north. In due time we will survey some of this subsequent Mitanni history, but not in this paper.

We leave the matter there. The history of this later interaction between the Mitanni and the Hittites is not in question. It is precisely what is espoused by the traditional history, but in that history it takes place in the middle of the 14th century BC. In the revised history we are at the end of the 10thcentury, 450 years removed in time.

Figure 7: The Campaign against Washukkanni by Suppiluliuma around 902 B.C.



As for the dates of Tushratta and his ancestors in our Figures 5 and 6 maps, and in Table 1, we have reasoned as follows. A glance at our Figure 2 timelines informs us that Amenhotep III ruled in the years 966-928 B.C. and his son Amenhotep IV, elevated to joint rule with his gravely ill father in the last decade of his life, ruled during the years 940-930 B.C. It follows that the Mitanni king Tushratta, who communicated with both kings, began his reign around 935 B.C. As he states in one of his letters (EA 17), he was extremely young when his reign began, and the kingdom was administered by a regent named Tuhi, not well liked by Tushratta who later had him assassinated. The reader will also be reminded that we have dated the reign of the Hittite king Suppiluliuma in the years 908-858, a fifty year reign as opposed to the twenty years assigned this king by the traditional history. But both of the revised dates are well documented. The year 908 follows from the fact that Suppiluliuma wrote an el-Amarna letter to Tutankhamon - whose brief reign spanned this date – and he also corresponded with

that king's widow. The 858 date follows from the fact that Suppiluliuma is mentioned in the annals of the Assyrian king Shalmanezer III (858-824), this in the first year campaign described in that king's annals. Assuming that the first and second campaigns of Suppiluliuma against Tushratta took place very soon after his reign began, we can tentatively date his conquest of the "Hatti Land" to around the year 905 and his attack on Washukkanni to approximately 902 BC. If Tushratta's assassination occurred several years after the sack of Washukkanni, around 900 B.C., we can date his reign to the years 935-900 with some confidence. In a moment it will be clear to the reader that the 905 and 902 dates are accurate to within a year. We have the advantage of having read the Assyrian annals.

The revised history dates assigned to Tushratta (935-900) imply that he ruled Hanigalbat during the entirety of the reign of Ashur-Dan II (934-912) and the first half of the reign of Adad-nirari II (911-891). In due time we will return to discuss the situation with Ashur-Dan II. Our focus in this paper is on the annals of Adad-nirari II. All of our discussion to this point has been intended to set the stage. Finally, at long last, we are prepared to examine those annals, where the underlined sentences in the previous paragraph will prove to be critical components of our analysis.

If our revision is correct the annals of Adad-nirari II should confirm the existence of a strong Mitanni kingdom in its traditional location, running east/west from the Euphrates to the Tigris, where the easternmost section consists largely of Arameans, clearly vassals of the Mitanni. The Aramean section of Hanigalbat should run northward at least as far as Mount Kashiari and the Tur 'Abdin. We should also find evidence that the Assyrians are confined to a relatively small region of upper Mesopotamia, and have been so since the days of the Tiglath-pileser II (967-935). There should be clear evidence that Hanigalbat and the Hittites were engaged in battle around the year 905 BC and that much of the traditional homeland of the Mitanni, including its capital city Washukkanni, had succumbed to the Hittite invasion of 902 BC, leaving the Aramean vassal state in the eastern Hanigalbat region to fight alone against the Assyrian king.

C. Content of the Annals.

We urge the reader to read the annals of Adad-nirari II. Earlier on page 7 we suggested two online translations, either pages 145-155 in A. Kirk Grayson's 1991 publication entitled Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BC) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers = RIMA 2], or alternatively on pages 109-116 of volume I of Daniel David Luckenbill's 1926 volume "Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia" [ARAB]. Alternatively, he/she may simply follow our commentary, as we briefly summarize the campaigns, with appropriate explanatory comment. This summary of the annals utilizes the paragraph numbering system employed by Luckenbill.

The first two pages of Adad-nirari's annals are dedicated to extolling the virtues of Assyrian gods and boasting of his own greatness (sect. 355-359). There follows an extremely brief summary of his military accomplishments during the first ten years of his reign (sect 360-362), during which time he was engaged in a series of raids northward along the east side of the Tigris into the lands of Nairi and the mountainous regions of Armenia, conquering what were essentially undefended cities. At some time, probably late in this time frame, he also moved

south into Karduniash, again avoiding major confrontation, and for the most part confining his raids to the north of that country, and to the cities of the region of Der, east of the Tigris. As already mentioned, he was careful to avoid the Kassite fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu, and the major cities of the country, all of which lay between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. We discussed this raid briefly in our last section, but mention it again to place it in context. These three sections, which summarize ten years of campaigns, comprise only a single page of text. And a small portion of this is given over to describing one of the only two building enterprises recorded for this entire reign, the rebuilding of the city of Apku, which had "decayed and collapsed into a heap of ruins". We suspect the city was actually attacked, destroyed, and abandoned by the Arameans early in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935)), about fifty years prior, an event so important that we devote the entirety of our next paper to its description.

The reconstruction of Apku is described in a section which begins with the statement that "the defeat of the desert folk, the Ahlame Arameans, was accomplished, the tribute of Suhi was received." It is likely by design that the restoration of Apku and an accounting of tribute received from the Arameans are mentioned in the same breath. One of the reasons for these attacks on the Ahlame Arameans and the Suhi appears to be retribution for the damage wrought by the Arameans over the years, of which the city Apku is but one visible reminder. Additionally, as we mentioned previously in our discussion of the campaign against Shamash-mudammiq, Adad-nirari is preparing his army for an all-out assault on Aramean cities in the Hanigalbat region to his north, this in order to liberate cities conquered by the Arameans in previous centuries, a subject already discussed in previous sections of this paper. While we don't know where the raids against the Ahlame tribe took place, the region occupied by the Suhi lies across the Euphrates due south of Assyria and can be viewed on the map in Figure 4 above. When we read the accounts of the Adad-nirari's campaigns against the Arameans to the north it is the Temanite Arameans that are the object of the king's wrath. Already, in section 362 of the annals, he confirms the fact that the recovery of Assyrian territory is his overriding objective.

> (I am he) who returned the cities of Hit, (Idu, and) Zakku, strongholds of Assyria, to the territory of his land. The cities of Arinu, Turhu, Zaduri, the confederacy (?) of Shupre, were torn from Assyria. (Annals sect. 362)

Before we move on to the main section of the annals we need to mention the fact that these introductory campaigns are not dated and are apparently not in chronological order. No eponym years are mentioned in sections 360-362. Thus, though the campaign against Shamash-mudammiq is mentioned before a 4th campaign against the Nairi-lands and a campaign up the Tigris to the region of Alzi, we previously dated the Babylonian campaign to the fall of 902 BC. But no harm results to our overall argument if that is not the case.

The ten years we have been discussing are clearly preparatory for the one task which Adad-nirari is hoping to accomplish, namely, liberating his country from its confinement, surrounded as it is by Arameans and the Mitanni. Assyria is apparently impoverished. Its resources are depleted. It is in need of supplies and weapons to supply its army, and metals with which to forge implements of war. Thus its campaigns toward the metal rich mountains of Armenia and south to the rich pasturelands of the region of Der. This preparatory activity almost certainly increased in intensity after 908 B.C., when news of the rise of Suppiluliuma I reached Assyria. It would have intensified further in the year 905 B.C. when the Hittites launched a successful campaign to conquer Amurru, and Tushratta in the several years which followed was increasingly absent from his capital, drawn hundreds of miles to the west to ensure that Suppiluliuma did not cross the Euphrates and launch an attack on the Hittite capital. Anticipating the day when Hatti and Hanigalbat would collide, Adad-nirari was readying the Assyrian army to launch a series of campaigns against Hanigalbat.

Whereas only a single page describes the military operations of Adad-nirari during his first ten years (911-902), four pages (sect 363-373) are devoted to the next eight years, entirely given over to the campaigns against Hanigalbat. Each yearly campaign is introduced by an eponym, and since the eponyms for this king's reign are well known, each campaign can be dated precisely. If the reader wonders why Adad-nirari II placed so much emphasis on these campaigns and why they began in 901 B.C. we can summarized in two sentences. Freeing Assyria from Mitanni (and Aramean) domination was to be the crowning achievement of his life, something he had been preparing for throughout his reign. And in 902 B.C., when Suppiluliuma attacked Washukkanni, likely decimating the city, but certainly removing Tushratta and his army from the scene, Mitanni lands became vulnerable to attack by the Assyrian army. The assault on Hanigalbat began the next year.

The first five of the dated campaigns against Hanigalbat were directed against the cities captured by the Arameans in the days of Ashur-rabi II and Tiglath-Pileser II. They were located to the extreme east and north-east of "the wide land of Hanigalbat." Two distinct Aramean tribes are mentioned, the Temanites and the Arime. We look at each campaign separately.

<u>First campaign against Hanigalbat (901 BC)</u>

> In the eponymy of Dur-mati-Assur, I marched against the wide land of Hanigalbat. Nur-Adad, the Temanite, mustered his hosts. By (in) the city of Pa'zi, which is at the foot of Mount Kashiari, we drew up the battle line; we battled with one another. From Pa'zi to Nusaybin, I accomplished their defeat. Multitudes of his chariots I carried off. (Luckenbill ARAB 111 sect.363)

Earlier in this paper (top of page 21) we quoted the opinion of Trevor Bryce, representative of the mindset of all scholars of the traditional history, that the Mitanni ceased to exist in the region of Hanigalbat by the end of the 2nd millennium BC, and that the former Mitanni territory,

supposedly in its entirety, was occupied by Arameans. We have devoted multiple pages to explain that this opinion is grossly in error. One of the sources of this mistaken opinion was the Broken Obelisk, which we leave for analysis in our next paper. Another source, though not mentioned by Bryce, was undoubtedly the annals of Adad-nirari II. When 21st century scholars refer to these annals, the name of Mitanni is nowhere mentioned, because they are of the same opinion as Bryce. It is time to set the record straight.

Two arguments can immediately be raised against the errant view that Hanigalbat in the annals is merely a geographical reference and its occupants are Arameans throughout, not Mitanni. The first argument has already been presented. In well over a dozen pages we have reviewed the history of Aramean infiltration into the eastern section of Hanigalbat, where that so-called geographical term consistently referred to the Mitanni homeland. A second argument might be drawn from the fact that this initial campaign is directed against "the wide land of Hanigalbat", yet the battle that follows is narrowly construed as one between Adad-nirari and a single Aramean tribe, localized in a narrow strip of land running from Mount Kashiari to Nusaybin. In fact all of the campaigns against Hanigalbat described in the annals are restricted to the region encompassed by the eastern tributaries of the Khabur River. Under no circumstances can scholars extrapolate from this circumstance to the conclusion that Arameans occupy the whole of "the wide land of Hanigalbat.? Then why is this language being used by Adad-nirari? The answer is not complicated, assuming that our timeline of events presented earlier is accurate. In 902 BC Suppiluliuma attacked and destroyed Washukkanni and drove Tushratta and his army westward and to the north, far from the traditional Mitanni homeland. Only indefensible Hurrian villages remain in Hanigalbat proper, save for the Aramean controlled eastern enclaves in the "land of Arime". To defeat these is to be in possession of the whole of the Mitanni homeland. More will be said on this subject as we continue through the annals.

One last comment on this first campaign concerns the city of Pa'zi at the foot of Mount Kashiari, transcribed Pauza by Grayson (*Assyrian Rulers* 149 lines 40, 41). This is almost certainly the same city mentioned in the Broken Obelisk, 3rd column, line 8 where we read concerning the author of these annals that …

"In that year, and in the month Iyyar, on an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of Pausa, which lieth at the foot of the mountain of Kasiari (?) he fought"

Clearly in both instances the city of Pausa was an Aramean stronghold, and very likely, as in the annals of Adad-nirari, the capital of a swath of Aramean land running from Mount Kashiari south and east toward to the eastern tributaries of the Khabur River. Which raises once again the issue of the authorship of the annals of the Broken Obelisk. We will mention this text again in our next paper as but one of over a several dozen reasons for favoring Tiglath-Pileser II over Ashur-bel-kala as the king whose annals fill columns 1-4 of the Obelisk. This reference to Pausa at the foot of Mount Kashiari is dated to the year 901 BC. Is it more reasonable to assume that

the Obelisk inscription naming the same Aramean held city was authored roughly 60 years earlier, during the initial years of Tiglath-pileser II (966-935) or over 170 years earlier, during the initial years of Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056). In the case of Tiglath-pileser II, we can at least argue that the Arameans arrived en masse and occupied that city during the initial years of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, approximately 40 years earlier, time to develop into a major Aramean stronghold. In the case of Ashur-bel-kala the Arameans occupying the Mount Kashiari region would have arrived a mere six or seven years earlier, during the hypothetical Aramean raid on Assyria attested by a badly damaged chronicle. Let the reader decide.

Second campaign against Hanigalbat (900 BC)

In the eponymy of Ekaia, I marched against Hanigalbat the second time. By (in) Nusaybin I fought with him. With the blood of his warriors I dyed the plain. I entered the city of Iaridi. The crops of its land I reaped. I counted the city of Saralu as my own. Grain and straw I heaped up therein. (Luckenbill ARAB 111-12 sect. 364)

It is clear from the language describing this second campaign that Nur-Adad, the Temanite Aramean, was not conquered in first campaign. And not only is no mention made of the conquest of Nusaybin here, but when we get to the fifth campaign in the year 887 BC this Aramean king is still occupying the same fortress city. Instead, in this second campaign, Adad-nirari (II), apparently without a struggle, occupies two defenseless cities nearby, Iaridi and Saralu. Which makes us wonder why he does not venture elsewhere in "the wide land of Hanigalbat", if scholars are correct in assuming that Hanigalbat is everywhere occupied by Arameans.

Third campaign against Hanigalbat (899 BC)

> In the eponymy of Ninuaia, I marched against Hanigalbat the third time. I took the city of Huzirina. (Its) wall I leveled flat (with the ground). The cities at the foot of Mount Kashiari, which Mamli, the Temanite, had taken, seized my feet; his palaces I counted as my own. At that time I received a great *pagutu* and a small *pagutu*, products of the land of Tur-adini which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates. (Luckenbill ARAB 112 sect. 365)

We continue to be perplexed, still waiting for Adad-nirari to leave this relatively narrow strip of land between Mount Kashiari and the city of Nusaybin located on an eastern tributary of the Khabur River. There is only one explanation possible. This is all that is left of the "wide land of Hanigalbat". And we have previously explained the circumstance which produced this situation, namely, the destruction of Washukkanni and the removal of Tushratta and his army in 902 BC. There does remain the problem of identifying the date of arrival of these Temanite Arameans in the Kashiari foothills. For the revised history there is a clearly defined answer, since we have surmised that around the 5th year of Tiglath-Pileser II Aramean tribes overran Assyria and the Mitanni lands in the region of Mount Kashiari, and also further north in the region of Katmuhu. That the Temanite tribe was among these invaders is almost certain.

The reference to “a great paqutu and a small paqutu , products of the land of Tur-adini is interesting but largely irrelevant to the subject at hand. It is generally accepted that the Assyrian word paqutu refers to the hippopotamus and “the land of Tur-Adini” (= “the land of the son of Adini” is almost certainly a reference to the state of Bit-Adini on the east side of the Euphrates at its western bend (see Figure 4 on page 14). This son of Adini is not named in the annals, but several decades after the time of Adad-nirari another son, “Ahuni mar (= son of) Adini” was a prominent antagonist of both Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III and in the reign of the latter king Til-Barsip, the capital of Bit-Adini, was overrun by the Assyrians and the Aramean state brought to an end.

Fourth campaign against Hanigalbat (898 BC)

> In the eponymy of Likberu, I marched against Hanigalbat for the fourth time. Then Mukur, the Temanite, became afraid of the curse of the great gods, and forced me into battle and combat. He put his trust in his fortified city, his mighty bow, his widespreading hosts, and the Arime (the Arameans) and broke (the treaty with me. I mustered my chariots and armies. Against Gidara, which the Arameans call Ratammatu, and which since (the days of) Tiglath-pileser, son of Assur-resh-ishi, king of Assyria, a prince who went before me, the Arameans had held by force, I marched. In the wisdom of my heart, such as (lit. which) did not exist among the kings, my fathers, I overthrew the cities round about it. In order to level that city of his to the ground, I dug a ditch (around) it. Before my terrible arms, the violent and mighty onsets of my attack, they became afraid and with a powerful (or brave) assault I entered into Ratammatu against that one. I brought him down out of his palace. His possessions, valuable mountain stone (crystal), his chariots, horses, his wives, his sons, his daughters, an enormous booty, he collected in front of me. On him and his brothers, - with bonds of copper I had them bound, to my city Assur I brought (them). The might and power of Assur, my lord, I established over Hanigalbat. (Luckenbill, ARAB 112 sect. 366)

Once again Hanigalbat becomes synonymous with a narrow strip of land between Mount Kashiari and Nusaybin. This third reference to the Temanite Arameans involves the city of Gidara and its Aramean king Mukur. The location of this former Assyrian city, renamed Ratammatu by its Aramean conquerors, is described by Trevor Bryce, whose book entitled The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia we used earlier in this paper when discussing the extent of Hanigalbat (see above, top of p 21). The article is sufficiently brief and informative to warrant quoting in its entirety.

> GIDARA Iron age city located in the upper Habur region of northern Mesopotamia, west of Nusaybin and north of Guzana. It had apparently been seized from the Assyrians by an Aramaean tribe called the Temanites (q.v.) after the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser II (967-935), and renamed Raqamatu by them. This information is provided by Adad-nirari II (911-891), Tiglath-pileser’s successor-but-one, who marched upon the city during his campaign in the region in 898, captured it after a siege, plundered it of its most valuable possessions, and deported its Temanite ruler Muquru and his family to Assyria (*RIMA 2: 150). A provincial governor of Raqamaru is attested in 773 at the latest; subsequently, the city may have been incorporated into the Province of the Comander-in-Chief (see glossary). Lipinski notes that Gidara is a West Semitic name, and suggests that the dual name of the city (Gidara Raqamatu),

> recorded by the Assyrians, implies the coexistence of two population groups in Gidara: the anc. Urban population and the Aramaeans who seized the city in Tiglath-pileser's reign. (Bryce, RHPP 256, s.v. Gidara)

The reader can locate this city on our Figure 4 map by following Bryce's directions – west of Nusaybin (Nisibin) and north of Guzana (Tell Halaf), thus near the L in the name HANIGALBAT. Unfortunately there was insufficient space to add the name to the map.

We needn't remind the reader that this reference to the time of Tiglath-pileser II, one of the few references to this king in the Assyrian archives, is perfectly consistent with our attribution of the annals of the Broken Obelisk to the reign of this king. Those annals terminate abruptly in his fourth year, and soon thereafter Assyria was overrun by Arameans who travelled precisely through the region Adad-nirari is now invading and through the range of the Kashiari mountains to region of Katmuhu, on the south bank of the Tigris . We are surprised to see Bryce suggest that this Aramean conquest of Gidara took place *after* the reign of this Tiglath-Pileser II, since the phrasing of the text of the annals clearly suggests otherwise, and the brief extant annals of his son Ashur-dan II provide not the slightest hint of an Aramean invasion in this region.

One other reference in the annals of this year brings to mind the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II. Near the beginning of the annals entry for this year, when Mukur the Temanite challenged Adad-nirari II to battle, it is stated that he did so because "He put his trust in his fortified city, his mighty bow, his widespreading hosts, and the Arime (the Arameans)" This is the only time in the annals that reference is made to an Aramean tribe called the "Arime", but in the Broken Obelisk, which we have attributed to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, there are at least a dozen mentions of campaigns directed by Tiglath-pileser II against the "land of Arime". This tribe is seldom, if ever, encountered elsewhere in Assyrian literature. We assume they entered this region in the early years of Ashur-rabi II, lending credence to our argument that the Obelisk belongs to the 10th century, not the beginning of the 11th.

Our final comment on the 4th campaign annals concerns the reference to Adad-nirari mustering his "chariots and *armies*" against the city of Gadara. On his sixth campaign as well, en route to the mountain fortresses of Sikkur (and) Sappanu, Adad-nirari commented on how difficult the ascent was for his "chariots (and) *armies*" (see below p. 42). And why are these references to multiple armies important? One reason will become obvious in our commentary on the 5th campaign, where we point out that the annals of Adad-nirari register primarily campaigns where battles are taking place. This, after all, is what annals typically do. But these annals twice interject "campaigns" whose purpose is solely to collect tribute. Which makes us wonder if other branches of the Assyrian army are constantly operating in the same capacity elsewhere. After all, Hanigalbat has only recently been invaded by the Hitties, who left behind hundreds of poorly defended cities east of Nusaybin, a city which is located approximately 150 miles from the Euphrates at the western extremity of Hanigalbat. These western cities may not have been rebellious, as were the Aramean vassals in the east, but they needed to be visited, if only to

swear allegiance to the Assyrians. And tribute and tax was surely levied on them very soon after the Hittites departed. Thus this speculative query.

And there is a second pressing issue related to the multiplicity of Assyrian armies, namely, the whereabouts of our elusive subordinate Assyrian king named Ashuruballit. We have argued in other papers and in one of our mainstream Displaced Dynasties books, that this king, at one time at least, governed the eastern half of Assyria, and was likely domiciled on the Balikh River, possibly, though not certainly in Harran. Early in this paper we suggested that he (and his army) likely accompanied Adad-nirari on his 904 campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin I. That would suggest that he is leading one branch of the Assyrian army assisting Adad-nirari in some his campaigns. It is also conceivable that soon after the beginning of the campaigns against Hanigalbat he was active in the western regions insuring the allegiance of cities in that area. After all, the western region of Assyria was apparently his responsibility.

Fifth campaign against Hanigalbat (897 BC)

> In the eponymy of Adad-ah-iddina, governor of Assur, I marched against Hanigalbat for the fifth time. The tribute of the lands I received. (Luckenbill, ARAB 113 sect. 367)

This can hardly be called a military campaign, though undoubtedly the army was essential, since Adad-nirari spent the year collecting tribute, and intimidation was clearly a necessary component of that exercise. But in spite of its brevity, this entry in the annals is extremely important and should not be too quickly glossed over. To this point in time Adad-nirari has conquered at most a dozen cities and, with the single exception of Gadara, these were hardly more than villages surrounding the major fortified cities of Pausha and Nusaybin, which appear to have withstood the assaults. All of these towns are located in the same general region of eastern Hanigalbat, as noted repeatedly in our previous comments. The exercise of collecting tribute and tax from these locations would consume at most a few weeks. Three years later, in yet another campaign to gather tribute and taxes, the annals specifically state that the army spent only one or two days at each location. Which raises the question: What does Adad-nirari mean by the statement “The tribute of the lands I received”. Are there more “lands” to visit than Hanigalbat, or is Hanigalbat larger than the region dominated by the Temanite Arameans?

There is no need to answer the previous question. The reader of the earlier sections of this paper already knows the answer. Suppiluliuma has conquered Washukkanni, but the cities near the capital were probably never forcefully engaged. We presume that many (if not all) have accepted their fate and have embraced their new overlords. This would apply to the Tigris tributaries as well as cities westward to the Euphrates. At least one branch of Adad-nirari’s military may have been engaged since 901 BC visiting many of these cities, encounters which never made their way into the annals because they did not resist the advance of the Assyrian army. Clearly, a wealth of information lies behind this solitary allusion to the reception of “the

tribute of the lands". We will return to the subject when momentarily we examine the "tribute collecting" campaign of 894 BC.

Sixth campaign against Hanigalbat (896 BC)

> In the eponym of Adad-dan, with the fury of my mighty weapons I proceeded against Hanigalbat the sixth time. Nur-Adad, the Temanite, I shut up in Nusaybin. Seven cities round about it I overthrew. Assur-dini-amur, the tartan, I caused to remain there (lit., dwill therein). A moat such as had never existed before, I cut around it, through the solid rock (lit., mighty mountain). I made it 9 cubits wide. Below, I made its bottom reach the (nether) waters. The ditch as a flame (would level it). They cried out over it, -a mighty roar as of a fierce, leveling storm. Fire [broke out] in it. . . . . grain, I watched it. At the command of Assur, the great god, my lord, out of that city . . . . . his . . . . , his gold, his possessions, precious mountain-stone, his gods, his chariots and teams of horses . . . . for my yoke (?), the staff he used in battle, golden chairs, dishes of shining gold . . . . inlaid . . . . , costly inlaid wapons, a golden tent, befitting his royalty . . . . whose weight I could not lift (lit., grasp), and the wealth of his spacious palace, I carried off.
>
> (Rev.) . . . . king of [all peoples] . . . . on his royal throne took his seat. In the midst of . . . . pure sacrifices he apportioned (divided) . . . . cattle he . . . . , (sesame) wine, -choice wine, he furnished (caused to flow); wines, food, sweetmeats for my country, he supplied, his sacrifices he offered, the effulgence of his surpassing glory consumed all of them. The lands of the kings were distressed. The mountains trembled. The king solemnly (?) spoke to his nobles: "The hero of Assur, -the glory of his might is surpassing; his work is that of Dagan; (he is) a king making great his glory." Nur-Adad, together with his widespreading armies, as booty I brought before me. Cities from those of the people of Assyria I gave them. His number I counted.
>
> (Luckenbill, ARAB 113-14 sect. 368, 369)

We need not spend much time discussing this prolonged assault on Nusaybin, the third of Adad-nirari's campaigns involving this city and its powerful Aramean king Nur-Adad. At long last the city and the king succumb to the Assyrians assaults. Details of the siege are largely immaterial. The fact that three campaigns were required to unseat Nur-Adad speaks volumes concerning the importance and military power of this one man. The fact that he occupies a region identified as part of Hanigalbat identifies him as a vassal of the Mitanni. That fact alone helps us to appreciate the strength of the Mitanni army which was able to contain him throughout the years. No wonder Suppiluliuma took such a circuitous route to defeat the Mitanni.

The defeat of Nur-Adad was not the end of the campaigning in the year 896 B.C. The annals continue, making it clear that it is discussing actions taken in the same eponymy.

> In the same eponymy, in my campaign in which I brought before me Nur-Adad, the Temanite, together with his widespreading armies as booty and carried him to my land, and caused him to dwell(?) in Nineveh, chariots (and) troops I mobilized; (over difficult roads, steep mountains, which were not suited for the going of my chariots and armies, to which no one among the kings my fathers, had drawn near, into which no bird that flies under heaven ever penetrates, against the cities Simat, Sapanu, which since the reign of Tukulti-Urta [1233-1197], king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser [1263-1234], king of Assyria, a prince who went before me, had withheld tribute and tax (due) to Assur my lord, I marched. Simat and Sapanu I besieged; with them I battled; multitudes of them I slew. Their spoil, -their property and their

> goods, their cattle, their sheep, I brought out and carried away to my city Assur. The cities of the prefecture of Simat and Sapanu I captured in their entirety. The rest of them who had fled before my mighty weapons, came down and seized my feet. I received gifts from them. Tribute and tax I made heavy and imposed upon them. (Luckenbill, ARAB 114 sect. 370)

Grayson (Assyrian Rulers 152, lines 84 & 86) translates the names of these two cities as "Sikkur (and) Sappanu" and Bryce provides a brief description.

> Sikkur Late Bronze Age and Iron Age city in northern Mesopotamia, attested along with the city Sappanu in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911-891). During the Late Bronze Age, both cities had been subject to Assyria, but had withheld tribute and taxes since the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208), according to Adad-nirari. Owing to their location in rugged mountain terrain, their defiance of Assyrian authority had remained unpunished until Adad-nirari led a compaign against them in 896, following one of his expeditions earlier in the year into the land of Hanigalbat. The cities were placed under siege, conquered, and plundered, along with all other cities in the region (*RIMA 2: 152). Adad-nirari thus restored Assyrian sovereignty over the recalcitrant cities and imposed heavy new taxes and dues upon them. (Bryce, RHPP 653, s.v. Sikkur)

It seems clear from Bryce's lack of specificity that he does not know precisely where these cities are located. Nor do we, though we suspect that the two cities have something to do with Adad-nirari's recently completed battles with the area governed by Nur-Adad. The heights of Mount Kashiari would be our first guess. Though not excessively high, the mountain was sufficiently steep to preclude the operation of Assyrian chariots and hinder ready access by Assyrian troops. We can disregard much of the hyperbolic language of the Assyrian king. The two cities could hardly be so elevated that "no bird that flies under heaven ever penetrates", yet have grasslands on which cattle and sheep graze successfully.

The next two campaigns are not described in the annals as directed against Hanigalbat, though we suspect that the Mitanni are somehow involved. Instead they are specifically targeted at a region whose name is transliterated and translated as Kirhi by Luckenbill and Habhu by Grayson (Assyrian Rulers 152). We quote the two sections of Luckenbill's translation separately, but restrict our brief commentary to the second campaign.

<u>Campaign in aid of Kumme (895 BC)</u>

> In the month Simanu, the fifteenth day, in the eponymy of Ina-ilia-alak, I advanced to the aid of the city of Kumme. I offered sacrifices before Adad of Kumme, my lord. The cities of Kirhi, the enemies of Kumme, I burned with fire. The crops of its land I gathered; tribute and tax I made heavy and imposed upon them. (Luckenbill ARAB 114, sect. 371)

<u>Second campaign in aid of Kumme (894 BC)</u>

> In the month of Nisanu, in the eponymy of Adad(?) –ia, for the second time, I went to the aid of Kumme. Sadkuri, Iasabdu, Kunnu, Tapsia, cities of Kirhi which lie about Kumme, had withheld the horses (which were) to be hitched to my yoke; - those cities I captured, I burned with fire, I devastated, I destroyed. (Luckenbill ARAB 114 sect. 372)

There is some confusion over the location of Kummu (Grayson's rendering of the cuneiform text name) and Habhu (Grayson's rendering of Luckenbill's Kirhi), but we are convinced that they lie in the region of

Melid and Alzi, north-east of Mount Kashiari, the one region deserving of the name Hanigalbat in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I quoted earlier. We assume that the city Kummu was conquered by this earlier Assyrian king and was one of the few cities in that region to have remained loyal to Assyria over the several centuries following his death until the time of Adad-nirari II. And if animosity between Kummu and its near neighbors is resurfacing during the reign of Adad-nirari II, we can only guess that there is some connection between the renewal of hostilities and the flight of Tushratta and his troops into that region following the sack of Washukkanni in 902 BC. More than that we cannot say.

These two campaigns are the last two strictly military actions undertaken by Adad-nirari, whose death will follow in three years. Following the second campaign in aid of Kumme, but still within the same eponymy, the annals record yet another "march" of the Assyrian army against Hanigalbat, errantly identified as a fifth such campaign, though actually a seventh. Appropriately this movement of the army is not identified as a "campaign", since in fact it functioned merely as an opportunity to collect tribute and taxes from the Aramean regions of Hanigalbat already conquered, and from towns in the Khabur River valley which may or may not have been visited in his tribute collecting "campaign" three years earlier.

Rather than quoting the entirety of this last "campaign" we merely duplicate here our brief description of the year 894 BC from earlier in this paper (see page 12 above).

> Finally, in the month Nisanu (March/April), the beginning of the Assyrian year, in the eponymy of Adad(?)-ia, (894 B.C.), for the second time Adad-nirari "went to the aid of Kumme" and captured and burned four more cities of Kirhi, those that had withheld tribute imposed the year prior (sect. 372). Then in the month Simanu (May/June) of that same year, for the "fifth (sic.) time" – a scribal error which should read "seventh time" - he marched against Hanigalbat, north and south" receiving tribute (sect.373), during which time Adad-nirari finally acknowledged his victory over Hanigalbat.
>
> > "The tribute of Hanigalbat, north and south I received. The whole of the wide land of Hanigalbat I brought under my sway. To the territory of my land I turned it. I made them all subject to one rule."
>
> During the last leg of this round trip journey collecting tax and tribute, Adad-nirari travelled down the length of the Khabur River valley, from Guzanu (present day Tel Halaf, which some would argue is the site of the Mitanni capital Washukkanni) to "Siuki, situated at the base of the Khabur, on the south bank of the Euphrates", then east along the Euphrates to the towns of Lake and HIndani in the district of Suhu, then back across the Euphrates and overland to Assur. The entire tribute collecting journey probably took less than a month, since the Assyrian army stopped only a day or two at each location. The whole of the year 894 thus far is confined to two sections of Luckenbill's translation (sections 372-373). No further campaigns by Adad-nirari are mentioned in the annals. In the final sections of the annals (374-76) the Assyrian king boasts of his actions rebuilding the infrastructure of the country and describes at some length his prowess at hunting. Were it not for the reference in the Synchronistic History, we would know nothing of his second major campaign against Karduniash. What we can say to conclude this lengthy excursus is that the campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin could easily have taken place in the fall of 894 B.C.

One item from this earlier discussion of the last "campaign" deserves mention. We have noted the fact that the tribute collecting journey down the Khabur began in the uppermost western tributary of the Khabur, the area favored by traditional historians as the site of Washukkanni.

And we have commented on the fact that Guzana, present day Tel Halaf was the first city visited. We failed to mention that the city was "held" at the time by Abisalamu, son of Bahiani, which seems to rule that city out as the location of Washukkanni. Luckenbill continues immediately to state that he then entered "the caverns (?) which are situated at the source of the Habur (= Khabur River)" a curious intrusion into a list of cities. Grayson and others have cleared up that incorrect normalization of the cuneiform text. The reading should have been "I entered the city Sikanu which lies at the source of the River Habur". And Assyrian scholars speculate that this name "Sikanu" is simply a shortened form of Washukkanni. They may or may not be correct, but the occurrence of this name in conjunction with the mention of Guzana is intriguing, especially since these were the first sites visited by Adad-nirari II after his initial declaration of sovereignty over "the wide land of Hanigalbat". We leave the reader to ponder Grayson's rendering of the relevant section of the annals.

> … in this same eponymy, I marched for a fifth [read "seventh"] time to the land Hanigalbat. I received the tribute of the land Hanigalbat above and below. (Thus) I became lord of the extensive land Hanigalbat to its entire extent (and) brought (it) into the boundaries of my land. I brought them under one authority. I crossed the River Habur (and) marched to the city Guzanu which Abi-salamu, a man of Bit-Bahiani, held. I entered the city Sikanu which lies at the source of the River Habur. By the exalted strength of the god Shamash, lord of my turban, lover of my priesthood, I received from him his numerous chariots, teams of horses, silver, gold, the property of his palace. I imposed upon him tribute.

It goes without saying that if either one of these cities is the site of Washukkanni, recently defeated by Suppiluliuma, and opportunistically "taken over" by Abi-salamu, perhaps an official of some rank in the administration of Tushratta's kingdom, then our thesis is absolutely confirmed. But as it stands we can only speculate on the identity of these cities.

Postscript:

The history of Mitanni continues on for several centuries, but now the nation is considerably reduced in size and no longer in control of the region running east-west through the headwaters of the Khabur. Tushratta himself was assassinated by a nephew not long after losing his Hanigalbat homeland, though his line of descendants continued in regions further north. We may well discuss the future of this nation at a later time, since there is evidentiary value in the details. Meanwhile we rest our case insofar as the annals of Adad-nirari II are concerned. Those annals make no sense without placing them in their proper historical context, and that context involves the Mitanni kings from Parshatatar through to Tushratta, who are now synchronized with the Assyrian timeline. The multiple references to a "wide land of Hanigalbat", a geographical term referring to a Mitanni national homeland running east/west from the Euphrates to the Tigris, yet used in the annals to refer only to the eastern extremity of that region, dominated exclusively by Temanite and Arime Aramean tribes, makes no sense whatever. And the fact that the defeat of the Temanites, or rather, victory over one dominant Temanite king, could justify Adad-nirari's boast to having brought all of Hanigalbat into the boundaries of his land, is equally incomprehensible, in spite of the fact that traditional historians have managed to rationalize the situation so as to make it conform with their distorted chronology. Rather, we have discovered that by accepting the traditional history of the interaction between the Mitanni, Egypt, and the Hittites, and simply moving that history forward in time approximately 450 years to overlap the reigns of the Assyrian

kings Tiglath-Pileser I through Adad-nirari II, every conceivable problem in the annals disappears. Only two changes in the later history needed to be made. We were forced to argue that the realm of Tiglath-Pileser I was not occupied by Arameans at the time his reign ended, and we were compelled to move the annals of the Broken Obelisk to the time of Tiglath-pileser II, restoring to that king his long-lost annals. And that final change will become the subject of our "third argument" in the next paper.

At the start of this paper we set out to prove that the early "dynasty of E" kings of Babylon were contemporaries of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Babylonian dynasty. And we suggested that what we really wanted to find was a link between the 3rd dynasty Kassites and the Assyrian or the "dynasty of E" timelines. Our first argument accomplished that fact directly. In the case of Shamash-mudammiq we referred to the fact that he is called "king of Karduniash" which implies, as we argued in our introductory section, that we are in the Kassite era. We also argued that Adad-nirari avoiding central Karduniash, where he might easily have conquered the country (since he had already defeated the Babylonian king), implied that the Kassites were *de facto* rulers of the country and periodic occupants of the fortress city Dur-Kurigalzu. Our second argument was actually much stronger. The treaty that was established between Adad-nirari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin confirmed an argument presented in our fifth paper that we are not far removed from the time of the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttash, thus closely synchronizing the Figure 2 timelines of the Assyrians, the Kassites and the dynasty of E. We also argued that the approximate date 894 BC for the Assyrian campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin was strong confirmation that Adad-nirari II was a contemporary of the Kassite king Kurigalzu II, who was installed as king by Ashuruballit in 894 BC, without doubt backed by the Assyrian army. The reader will probably find some of these four arguments stronger than others, but since we lump them together as a single item, collectively they serve as an adequate start to this listing.

The annals of Adad-Nirari serve equally to argue our premise. While the Kassites do not enter the picture, we have managed to establish the fact that our revised Egyptian, Hittite, and newly introduced Mitanni timelines, can be firmly linked with the Assyrian timeline of the 10th century BC. And since in our 4th paper we have already synchronized the Kassites with the revised Egyptian and Hittite timelines, we have indirectly proven our case. We leave it to the reader to determine the strength of the argument.

And with that we close this paper.

Paper #5 Arguments that the 10th/9th century kings of the "dynasty of E" were vassals of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Dynasty (Argument 3: Redating the Broken Obelisk)

In our previous paper we made reference to an Assyrian inscription popularly known as the "Broken Obelisk", and with nary an ounce of proof we attributed the annals contained in this document to the mid-10th century king Tiglath-pileser II (966-935). At the time we asked the reader to simply accept this attribution, albeit tentatively, largely because the extremely lengthy proof of our claim would have unnecessarily interrupted the existing train of thought. We promised at the time to furnish proof of our claim in the following paper. We are here fulfilling our promise. We begin with a few introductory remarks.

This obelisk inscription, properly interpreted, and viewed in combination with information provided in our earlier discussion of the annals of the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari II, provides compelling evidence that our interpretation of those annals is correct. And since that interpretation involved the 18th dynasty Egyptian**,** the Empire Hittite, and the Empire Mitanni timelines - thus proving that the Kassites, who are firmly linked to those timelines, are ruling Karduniash/Babylonia during the reign of Adad-nirari II - we are eager to establish a mid-10th century date for the Obelisk inscription. Besides, there are several tantalizing details within that inscription that demand a mid-10th century date and one in particular that dates the Obelisk precisely in early years of Kurigalzu I. For these reasons, and others not mentioned, we devote the whole of this monograph to re-dating the Broken Obelisk.

The inscription is not long, and can be read online in minutes. We suggest that the reader peruse this document, whether before or after reading our interpretation. Several excellent translations are available online, but since we will be referencing the book entitled *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria* [AKA] edited by E.A. Wallis Budge and L.W. King, we suggest this as one possible source (see pages 128-149 of that book). Alternatively, since we will be referencing Luckenbill's opinion of the Obelisk's authorship from page 118 of his Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Volume I [ARAB] we suggest reading the text itself on pages 119-125 of that volume. Finally, we mention the most recent translation, that provided by A. Kirk Grayson on pages 99-105 of his Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I (1114-859 BC) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers = RIMA 2].

Since the Obelisk was unearthed in the British excavations in Assyria in the mid to late 19th century it has engendered intense scholarly scrutiny. The monument, of which only the upper portion remains, is inscribed on three of its four sides with five columns of text, two on the front on either side of a portrait of an unidentified Assyrian king, one on its right side, spanning the width, and two side by side on the back. The left side has been left blank. The first four columns contain the military annals of the initial years of an anonymous Assyrian king, written in the "3rd person", while the fifth and final column records miscellaneous building repairs of

what appears to be a different king, and written in the "1st person". From the time of its discovery it has been assumed by scholars that the author of the 5th column has discovered the obelisk with its nearly four columns of text, clearly unfinished, and has added a record of his own building activities, thus preserving for posterity the annals of a predecessor, probably an ancestor, and more than likely his father or grandfather. Daniel David Luckenbill, one of the most competent and influential of the early 20th century Assyrian scholars, concurred with this opinion on page 118-19 of his *Ancient Records*, save in one point. He believed that the author of the 5th column was Adad-Nirari II while the unknown ancestor was likely the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I, an extremely remote ancestor. Luckenbill's influence caused that latter opinion to prevail in scholarly circles for at least the several decades following his 1926 publication. His identification of Adad-Nirari II as the author of the 5th column text did not received the same endorsement by fellow scholars of the early 20th century, though Luckenbill himself considered the identification as "almost certain".

Throughout the 20th century and into the 21st speculation has continued among Assyriologists and Babylonian scholars alike as to the identity of the 5th column author and his mysterious ancestor. Brinkman, in his 1968 publication *The Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* [PKB] has devoted his appendix B on pages 383-86, to a discussion of this document. The Appendix, entitled "*The Internal Chronology of the Broken Obelisk*", begins with the following paragraph:

> To historians concerned with the later years of the Second Dynasty of Isin (1155-1025), the Broken Obelisk has been and will remain a problematic and tantalizing document. Over the years much ink has been spilled in efforts to date this important text, which does not preserve the name of its royal author. The various monarchs proposed have ranged from Shalmaneser I (1274-1245) to Adad-nirari II (911-891). In recent years, the most generally accepted view has been that the inscription was the work of Ashur-bel-kala (1075-1057). (Brinkman PKB 383) *(the dates cited have been added to the quoted text by the author of this paper to assist readers with little background in Assyrian or Babylonian history)*

The Second Dynasty of Isin cited by Brinkman is simply an alternative name for what we have been referencing as the 4th dynasty of the "kings of Babylon", i.e. those kings who, according to the traditional history, initially replaced the Kassites as rulers of Babylonia, this in the approximate year 1155 B.C.. Brinkman assumes that knowledge of the Broken Obelisk *could possibly* inform historians regarding the "Second Dynasty of Isin" (1155-1025) because Ashur-bel-kala (1075-1057) was a contemporary of several kings of that dynasty, and more so because, as scholarship evolved in the first half of the 20th century, scholars came to the near unanimous opinion that the first four columns contained a *summary* of "the annals and hunting exploits of Tiglath-Pileser I", a slight variation of the opinion popularized by Luckenbill as noted above. And the lengthy reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) overlapped a significant portion of the Isin dynasty.

Having thus explained several details of the quote by Brinkman, we follow him as he continues in his Appendix to provide five reasons why the assumed authorship by Ashur-bel-kala *may be correct*, though we should point out that the language used by Brinkman suggests that this extremely careful scholar is not entirely convinced. We also need to mention that Brinkman is referring to the view espoused by scholars in the second half of the 20th century, one which is currently supported by the majority of scholars worldwide, wherein all five columns of the annals attest to the activity of one king, in this case Ashur-bel-kala. If we are to argue our thesis that the first four columns were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II, then clearly we must begin by discrediting the attribution of any part of the document to Ashur-bel-kala. We proceed accordingly.

The initial argument by Brinkman, undoubtedly the strongest, is based on an assumed identity between an eponym which dates one of the invasions in the lengthy "ancestral" portion of the Obelisk (column 3, line 3), and an eponym supposedly found in a text belonging to Ashur-bel-kala, a text which actually names him as the author. The other four reasons will be dealt with when we begin to produce argument in favor of our identification. All four of those reasons will be duplicated, word for word, and used as the basis for four arguments in favor of *our* thesis.

Thus we begin our analysis of the Broken Obelisk with a criticism of the single extremely fragile reason cited in support of the Ashur-bel-kala authorship. Assuming we are successful, and nothing remains to justify Brinkman's (qualified) support of that viewpoint, we are free to supply more corroborative proof in defense of our claim for authorship by Tiglath-Pileser II.

Arguments that Ashur-bel-kala DID NOT author the Broken Obelisk

Argument 1.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number one reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below.

> The limmu of Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu occurs both in the annals of Ashur-bel-kala and in the Broken Obelisk; (note 2150 added)

In the footnote 2150 affixed to the stated reason Brinkman adds the references:

> AfO VI (1930-31) 86, Teil IV; AKA 133 iii 3. See also Jaritz, JSS IV (1959) 213. Stamm (Namengebung, p. 228 and Borger (EAK I 5 n.2) present arguments for reading the limmu name as Ashur-rim-nisheshu

And at the bottom of the same page he makes the statement:

> Weidner, Jaritz, and Borger have been the chief spokesmen for dating the Broken Obelisk to the time of Ashur-bel-kala.

Before we even begin our counterargument directed specifically at the dual Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu eponym references we need to note that even *if* absolutely correct, Brinkman's stated reason merely allows for the *possibility*, not the probability, that the presence of two identical limmu names in two different inscriptions implies that both documents were authored by the same king. Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu (or Ashur-rim-nisheshu) is not an uncommon name. It was borne by one of the last kings of the Old Assyrian Period, Ashur-rim-nisheshu (1397-1391), the third predecessor of the famous Ashuruballit I and possibly his great-grandfather. It is perfectly conceivable that an individual bearing this name, but serving in the reign of some king other than Ashur-bel-kala, would be selected as a limmu official. And the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II would appear at the top of the list of possible candidates. But in this monograph we do not need to rely on this "insurance clause", this for a very simple reason. **It is simply not true that "the limmu of Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu occurs both in the annals of Ashur-bel-kala and on the Broken Obelisk".** Brinkman ought to have stated that "The name Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu occurs as a limmu name in the Broken Obelisk and *possibly* as a limmu name on another document, which document *may or may not* have been authored by Ashur-bel-kala". If that weakens (or absolutely negates) the argument, so be it.

We begin to defend our claim, emphasized in the previous paragraph, by actually looking at the document in question, i.e. by following up Brinkman's initial footnote reference in support of his stated reason.

Ernst F. Weidner, probably following Schroeder (OLZ XX [1917], 305), in an article entitled "*Die Annalen des Konigs Assurbelkala von Assyrien*", published in the journal *Archiv fur Orientforschung* [AfO VI (1930-31) Teil IV] has collated two tablet inscriptions into one text, thus creating a composite document which begins by naming the king Ashur-bel-kala and ends with an (assumed) eponym name, Ashur-rim-nisheshu. On the basis of this amalgam/composite text it is claimed that the identical cuneiform name, clearly identified as a limmu name and found in column III line 3 on the Broken Obelisk, identifies the annals found on the Obelisk as belonging to Ashur-bel-kala. This opinion, largely based on the stature of the three mid-20th century German scholars who espoused it (Borger, Jarita and WeidnerJ) has been almost universally accepted by the academic community. But the opinion is not supported by the facts. Reasons follow. But first a description of the two tablets used to fabricate the composite text.

One tablet, Assur 18265 = VAT 11240, is very small and has multiple lacunae (*grossere Lucke*). Only seven severely damaged lines remain and these were translated five years prior by Luckenbill in section 341 of his *Ancient Records*.

> Assur-bel-kala ….. the king without rival ….. viceroy, lord of lands …… whom Assur, Enlil ….. the ruler of the land of Assyria ….. the lands …… [who shatters] …..

Lacunae both precede and follow the remains of every line on this tablet, leaving only stock phrases which occur on dozens of cuneiform documents, since the text that is visible suggests

that this inscription is from the lauditory introductory section of some larger inscription, probably, but not certainly, annals.

The reverse of this first tablet is not inscribed, either that or the damaged surface precludes reading any text. Since no photographs are provided in the article we are left to guess. Not so on the second tablet, Assur 16308k, which has 14 lines on the obverse (see the line drawing of tablet Assur 16308k, Vs provided on page 89 in the article and duplicated in Figure 1 below) and a single line on the reverse (see Assur 16308k, Rs in Figure 1). The name of Ashur-bel-kala appears nowhere on this tablet, and the single line on the reverse actually consists of a single name – translated by Weidner as Ashur-rim-nisheshu. Thus we have the name of the king Ashur-bel-kala on one tablet and the name Ashur-rim-nisheshu on the other. And this of course raises the question whether or not the two tablets record parts of a single text. It is important to emphasize here that the name Ashur-rim-nisheshu on the reverse of the larger tablet is not preceded by the usual signs indicating that it is an eponym. The name stands alone. According to Weidner the balance of the reverse of the tablet is uninscribed (rest unbeschrieben). Thus in his transliteration and translation of the tablet, on pages 86-87 of the article, Weidner has recorded the following:

> [arah … umu …KAM li-m]u Id a-shu[r]-rim-nishe-MESH-shu
> [Monat …, Tag … Epony]m Assu[r]-rim-nishe-shu

And A. Kirk Grayson, in his treatment of the same composite text, on pages 95-96 of his *Assyrian Records*, provides his own reading of the name:

> [ITI … UD x.KAM limu] md a-shur-ADA-UN.MESH-su
> [Month of … … th day, eponymy of] Assur-rem-nisheshu

Clearly both of these extremely competent scholars believe the name must be a limmu and both supply the requisite introductory cuneiform signs, not actually visible on the tablet. It is not clear whether Weidner and Grayson are suggesting that the signs were originally present and have been elided or whether they were never inscribed, though Weidner's own statement (*rest unbeschrieben*) might imply the latter, save for the fact that his transliteration and translation suggest that he *thinks* he sees the partial remains of the end of the limmu sign, which Grayson apparently cannot see.

We mentioned above that there did exist an Assyrian king by this name, who reigned 1397-1391, thus about three hundred years before Ashur-bel-kala (ca 1074-1056). This king's name on at least one tablet has already resulted in it being tentatively assigned to the reign of Ashur-bel-kala, in spite of the absence of the signs which identify the name as an eponym. In this instance the mistake was corrected by Grayson:

> Rollig further suggested that another fragmentary inscription on a clay cone (A 3562, Assur 13243) published by Donbaz and Grayson (RICCA no. 251) might belong to Ashur-bel-kala's reign because Ashur-rem-nisheshu, whose name appears in the fragment, was an eponym of his reign. However, I doubt this

> since the name is not immediately preceded by a *limu* but by *sha*, indicating that the king Ashur-rem-nisheshu is being cited as a previous builder. (Assyrian Rulers = RIMA 2, p. 110)

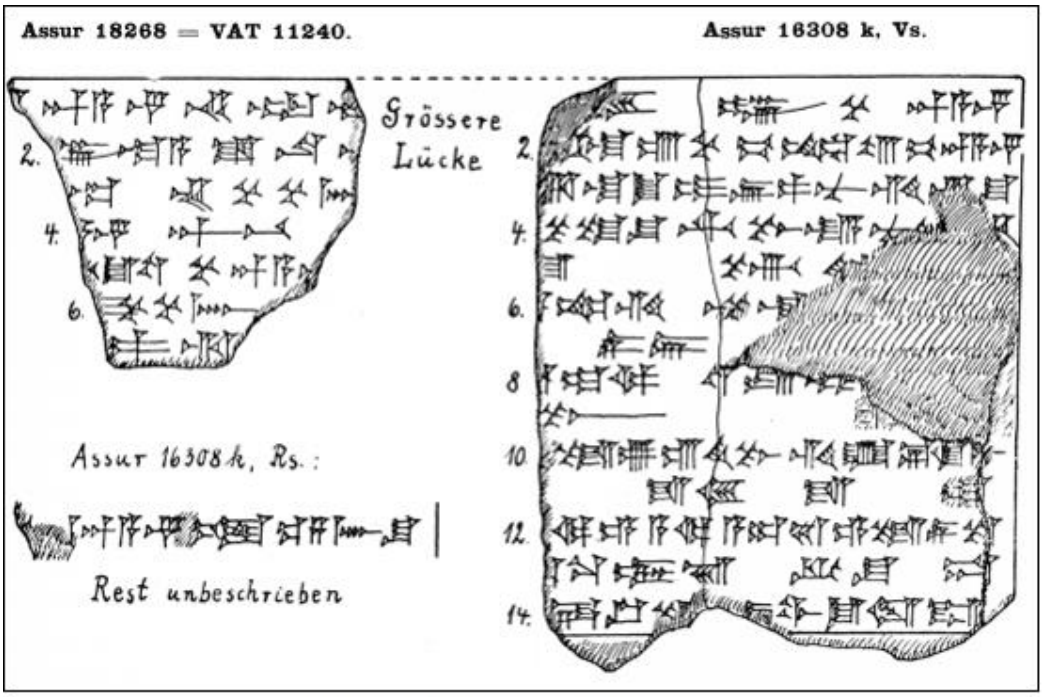
We cannot be blamed for assuming that once again a tablet containing this king's name is being wrongly assigned to the reign of Ashur-bel-kala, this time by Grayson himself. The Wikipedia article referencing the name Ashur-rim-nisheshu will reveal a line drawing of a memorial cone authored by this earlier king. The tablet is written in Old Assyrian cuneiform and on the first line we read the king's name, spelled out phonetically using nine cuneiform signs m d ash-shur-ri-im-ni-she-shu. Apparently this is the orthography used by that king in recording his original documents. Here we are dealing with a Neo-Assyrian copy of an inscription where a scribe or wanna-be scribe (i.e. schoolboy) has used more current orthography to record the name, this assuming, of course, that our document, Assur 16308k, was copied from a tablet or monument otherwise known to be authored by this earlier king. Assuming that the king's name was revealed elsewhere on that monument (or tablet), but not in the inscription, the scribe has simply added it to the reverse of Assur 16308k to identify the author. We can think of no other reason for the inclusion of this name in this position.

As stated, we suspect that the tablet 16308k belongs to that earlier king, but regardless, even if the single name on the reverse is an eponym, we do not have in this situation a clearly defined limmu name on a document with a clearly articulated king's name. The two names occur on two separate tablets which may, or may not, contain distinct parts of a single text. There is no visible physical evidence that suggests that the two tablet fragments were once joined together, nor anything distinctive in the language employed on the two tablets that strongly suggests they should be merged into one document. At minimum we argue that there is nothing in the fabricated composite text that could possibly justify the conclusions that have been drawn from it. And if we understand Brinkman's language correctly, he is not totally convinced either. There is not a single line of text in the composite document that does not supply lengthy connecting phrases in order to make a coherent intelligible inscription. Let the reader decide. To assist the analysis we reproduce below the composite document as translated by A. Kirk Grayson on pages 95-96 of his *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium* BC I (1114-859 BC. For Grayson the composite text is his number A.0.89.4.

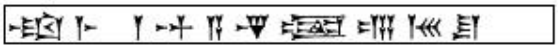
> 1-14 Assur-bel-kal[a, great king, king of the] universe, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, [king of all the four quarters], provider for Ekur, select of the god Assur, appointee of the Lord of the Lands, [who] acts [*with the support of the god Assur*] in laying low his enemies, [whose] deeds the gods Assur (and) Enlil […], the unconquerable attacker, [*the one to whom was entrusted*] dominion of Assyria, the one who disintegrates [all *enemy*] lands [with the fire of] Girru (fire god), controller [of the insubmissive], the one who breaks up [the forces of the rebellious], the one who defeats [his enemies, …] throws down, is changed [the one who … *in battle*] has overwhelmed all princes, [… the one who …] has conquered the [lands] of all [*people* from Babylon of the land Adda]d to the Upper Sea [of the land Amurru and the sea of the lands Nair]I [the one who …] … has become lord of all; Lacuna
> Reverse
> Lacuna
> Rev. 1') [Month of …, …th day, eponymy of] Assur-rem-nisheshu.

To further assist the reader we reproduce below in Figure 1 Weidner's line drawings of the obverse of tablet Assur 18268 and the obverse and reverse of tablet Assur 16308k. We have added at the bottom of the diagram the cuneiform text of the limmu name from the Broken Obelisk (with the added two cuneiform signs identifying it as such) and the assumed limmu name from the reverse of Assur 16308k. Several explanatory comments follow the Figure.

Figure 1: Line Drawing of the Cuneiform text of Tablets Assur 18268 and Assur 16308k (Weidner, AfO VI (1930-31) p. 89) and of the eponym Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu in Column III, line 3 of the Broken Obelisk courtesy of E.A. Wallis Budge, AKA, p.133



Weidner, AfO VI (1930-31) p. 89



Budge, AKA, p. 133

Broken Obelisk, col. III, line 3

Assur 16308 k, Rs.:

Weidner, AfO VI (1930-31) p. 89

Rest unbeschrieben

We draw the reader's attention to several features of these two tablets:

1) The name in question is translated "Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu" by Budge/King in their Obelisk translation, and "Ashur-rim-nisheshu by Weidner (and Grayson elsewhere) when interpreting the tablet Assur 16308k, but orthographically the names are identical (see Figure 1), save for the cuneiform sign next to last in the writing of the name. Both of these latter signs are simply variant writings of the cuneiform sign MESH - a post-positive determinant indicating that a plural translation is to be assigned to the prior sign. All three scholars transliterate the sign in question as MESH.

It follows that it really doesn't matter how the names are translated. The cuneiform writing of the names are the same regardless.

2) Unfortunately we have no idea where on the reverse of the larger tablet the single name occurs, and we are compelled to accept Weidner's appraisal of both documents. No readily accessible photographs exist.

3) What we have before us in these two tablets, once they are combined into a single document, is clearly the salutary introduction to what appear to be annals of unknown length. Unfortunately the annals which would have followed the composite text are missing, possibly beginning in the lacunae which follow the existing text on the obverse of both tablets, and more than likely continued on accompanying tablets. Assuming that to be the case we are intrigued by the absence of any inscription on the back of both documents, undoubtedly the feature that prompted the German scholar to associate the two documents initially. Inscriptions that begin with this type of introduction will normally continue on through the reverse of the tablet and require multiple additional tablets to complete. Why are the backs of these tablets blank? And even more unusual is the presence of the single name on the reverse of tablet Assur 16308k. What is the purpose of this name in this location? The name Ashur-rim-nisheshu is arguably not a limmu name, unless one assumes that *totally by chance only the necessary identifying cuneiform signs preceding it have been elided*. And even if it were a limmu name, what on earth is its purpose here?

We leave it to the reader to ponder the issue. Tablets written on one side only are not common. We are of the opinion, mentioned above, that both tablets are probably the work of schoolboys, honing their skills. While we don't know what is being copied, it is clear that both tablets are late copies of a portion of some inscription. It is definitely not clear that the inscriptions being copied are one and the same. More than that we cannot say. And documents copied on clay tablets are notorious for substituting or even inserting names not present in the original inscription, even when the copying is the work of qualified scribes. Witness our paper #1 analysis of the Synchronistic History tablets, well deserving of their reputation for errantly copying and even deliberately substituting names in the duplicating process.

Argument 2.

We need to add one comment to our previous analysis of the composite document created by Ernst Weidner. In particular we want to question once again the supposed limmu name on the reverse of the larger tablet, whose purpose we failed to identify in the previous discussion. Because this argument is a stand-alone item, we treat it separately, and we begin by returning to Brinkman's Appendix chapter entitled "Internal Chronology of the Broken Obelisk" (PKB 385). In that chapter Brinkman points out that the Broken Obelisk contains only three limmu names, "li-me Assur-[…]", "li-me Assur-ra'im-nisheshu" and "li-me Ilu-iddina", which serve to divide the content of the annals into four sections, each spanning a single year, or at least a portion thereof. And Brinkman is firmly convinced that the campaigns named in the second and third columns are listed in chronological order. The limmu name Assur-ra'im-nisheshu, in line 3 of column 3, serves to introduce the multiple campaigns of the third year of the king. We contrast this situation with the name of the assumed identical limmu official named on the reverse of the larger tablet examined by Ernst Weidner. In this situation the name stands in isolation on the otherwise uninscribed reverse of a tablet whose obverse is not describing an event that needs to be dated to some specific year. Limmu names are intended to date some specific action, usually military campaigns, frequently legal texts, and rarely the time of creation of a document, usually a letter from one official to another, in which case it is placed at the end of the document. And the name is always identified with the two signs designating it as a "li-me". In the case of Assur 16308k none of these characteristics apply. Even if we accept as legitimate the composite document created by Weidner by dovetailing the two tablet inscriptions, the supposed limmu name is entirely out of place, dating absolutely nothing. Not only is it not related to the 3rd year of Ashur-bel-kala, it is located at the back of a tablet whose text would precede the first year campaigns of the king.

Argument 3.

The reign of Ashur-bel-kala began only three years after the death of his father Tiglath-Pileser I, arguably the greatest military leader in the whole of Assyrian history, whose reign ended without a single Aramean remaining on Assyrian soil, much less an entire Aramean state referred to as the "land of Arime", situated on his norther border. This, of course, assuming that we have correctly interpreted the "Chronicle of Tiglath-Pileser" in our previous paper. We know that 28 times in his final years Tiglath-Pileser had led his army southward, crossing the Euphrates in order to encounter Arameans, whom he promptly dispatched. This leads us to ask the obvious question. How is it that three years after the death of his father, Ashur-bel-kala, who inherited his father's vast army, is forced to launch upwards of a dozen campaigns against various cities in this "land of Arime", each time with limited success. That fact alone argues strongly against attributing the annals of the Broken Obelisk to this king.

Argument 4.

There are only two scenario's possible if scholars insist that Ashur-bel-kala wrote the annals of the Broken Obelisk. On the one hand, as is the case today, scholars might argue that he wrote the 5th column as well. To this suggestion we respond with two questions: 1) How likely is it that 3rd person annals and 1st person building inscriptions would be contained on a single monument, supposedly authored in its entirety by one king? and 2) If the annals were for a time left incomplete and Ashur-bel-kala had his scribes return to the document to add his building inscriptions, why did they not first complete the annals before adding the building inscriptions? Generations of extremely competent scholars have for centuries insisted that the annals were left incomplete, including Luckenbill. How is it that suddenly a new generation of scholars assumes otherwise?

On the other hand if scholars insist on stating that Ashur-bel-kala wrote the annals but left them incomplete, only to have them completed by a descendant, then we have a succession problem. The annals end after the 4th year of their author, thus around the year 1070 BC on the assumption that they are the work of Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056). What happened to cause the annals to cease so abruptly, and remain incompleted throughout his lengthy reign is one problem. Why were they left incomplete for 160 years is a second problem, assuming that Luckenbill is correct in arguing that the building inscriptions were added by Adad-Nirari II (911-891). All of these objections were answered in our last paper based on the premise that the Broken Obelisk annals are the work of Tiglath-Pileser II. If the reader follows our reasoning in the previous two paragraphs, he/she must consider this item as two distinct arguments against the authorship by Ashur-bel-kala, regardless of which assumption is made regarding the authorship of column 5.

Multiple other arguments against the assumed authorship by Ashur-bel-kala could be included in this section, but because they are focused more directly on proving the case for authorship by Tiglath-Pileser II than on disproving the case for authorship by Ashur-bel-kala, we include them in a separate section of this paper. But since these two kings are really the only viable candidates for the "authorship" position, because no other king following Ashur-bel-kala even remotely qualifies as the author of the Broken Obelisk, it matters little whether we disprove the authorship by Ashur-bel-kala or prove the authorship by Tiglath-Pileser II. They are two sides of a single coin.

Arguments that the annals of the Broken Obelisk were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II

We promised earlier that in this paper we would utilize the four remaining arguments introduced by Brinkman on page 383 of his PKB. We will do that momentarily, but we need to begin with a different argument, since it provides a foundation for future discussion.

Argument 1.

We have already alluded to the fact that Daniel Luckenbill was the first scholar to propose and defend the notion that Adad-Nirari II should be credited with authoring the 5th column of the Broken Obelisk, a proposal that he considered to be "almost certain". We would be remiss if we did not return to that proposal to demonstrate how it relates to our proposed identification of Tiglath-Pileser II as the author of the first four columns, a possibility not even considered by Luckenbill. The two proposals (i.e. columns 1-4 authored by Tiglath-Pileser II and column 5 authored by Adad-Nirari II) fit together like hand and glove, and together constitute one of the most powerful arguments in favor of both.

We begin by quoting Luckbill's stated opinion:

> The "Broken Obelisk" in the British Museum, said to have been found at Kuyunjik, has furnished material for speculation ever since its inscription became known to scholars. The long introduction records the conquests and hunting exploits of some Assyrian king, in the third person, while in the building inscription at the end, the narrative is in the first person. For the most part scholars have thought of the introduction as an account of the military and hunting exploits of Tiglath-pileser I, while the first-person narrative was assigned to some successor of this king. But with the recovery of parts of early kings' and eponym lists, as well as the annals of Adad-nirari II, it seems almost certain that the obelisk, in its final form, comes from this king's reign. At the beginning of the building section we are told of a canal dug by Assur-dan which was restored after thirty years, by the author of the inscription. Assur-dan II and his son Adad-nirari II would fit this chronological situation better than any other two Assyrian kings. Further on in the section we hear of the rebuilding of the city of Apku. Adad-nirari II in his annals (sect. 362) gives a detailed account of his restoration of the city. (Luckenbill, Ancient Records 118-19 sect. 385)

Turning to the annals of Adad-Nirari II, in the section #362 referred to by Luckenbill, we read:

> The old city of Apku, which the kings who went before me had built, had fallen to decay and was turned to a mound of ruins. That city I rebuilt. From its foundation to its top I repaired and finished it. I made it beautiful, I made it splendid, I made it greater than it had been before. My royal palace, a surpassing (structure), I built therein. (Luckenbill, Ancient Records 111, sect. 362)

If Luckenbill is correct in attributing authorship of the 5th column to Adad-nirari II, our case for crediting Tiglath-Pileser II (766-935) with the authorship of columns 1-4 is considerably strengthened, this for a variety of reasons. We mention only two at this juncture. On the one hand a father/son or grandfather/grandson relationship is more likely the reason why one king would be in possession of, much less take the time to complete, the annals of a predecessor. On the other hand a king is more likely to come into possession of a monument that was discarded fifty years earlier (963-911), as would be the case if columns 1-4 were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II, than a monument abandoned almost 160 years earlier (1070-911), assuming that Ashur-bel-kala authored the annals but not the 5th column.

The fact that the reigns of the two kings Tiglath-Pileser II and Adad-nirari II were so very close together also allows us to add to Luckenbill's argument identifying Adad-nirari II as the author

of the 5th column of the Obelisk. When Luckenbill made reference to the final verses of the 5th column, and the unfinished construction found in the city of Apki, he omitted mentioning the fact that the "unfinished construction" included a reference to the palace in that city, "which Ashur-resh-ishi had built but had not finished." [see lines 34,35] Two kings by that name are well known to scholars. Ashur-resh-ishi I (1132-1115) was the father of Tiglath-Pileser I and Ashur-resh-ishi II (971-967) was the father of Tiglath-Pileser II. If the king by that name at the end of the 5th column was Ashur-resh-ishi II, as we believe, then clearly the 5th column annals must have been authored by a king whose reign post-dated the year 967 B.C. Adad-nirari II fits that description admirably. Needless to say, the current generation of scholars argues that the Obelisk is referring to Ashur-resh-ishi I. Which leads us to ask: Who would be more likely to begin a palace construction and leave it unfinished - Ashur-resh-ishi I (1132-1115), whose reign lasted for 17 years, or Ashur-resh-ishi II (971-967) whose untimely death after four years would leave a good deal of construction unfinished. And which king was succeeded by descendants who, because of pressures from without, would not be in a position to complete their father's work - Ashur-resh-ishi I, who was succeeded by Tiglath-Pileser I, one of the most energetic and successful kings ever witnessed in Assyria, and whose rule lasted for close to 40 years, or Ashur-resh-ishi II, who was succeeded by Tiglath-Pileser II, whose kingdom was overrun by Arameans late in his 4th year, reducing Assyria to the status of a vassal state, which condition possibly lasted well into the reign Ashur-dan II, the father of Adad-Nirari II.

We do acknowledge that at least one palace construction *may have been* left incomplete by Ashur-resh-ishi I, but this was in Nineveh, and Tiglath-Pileser I was quick to finish the construction and boast about his accomplishment.

> [The palace] which Ashur-resh-ishi, my father, vice-regent of the god Assur, had built (but) not completed – this palace I constructed (and) completed. I raised its walls and towers and made (them) fast, with a façade of bricks glazed (the color of) obsidian, lapis lazuli, Pappardilu-stone, (and) parutu-alabaster. I installed on its towers replicas in obsidian of date palms (and) surrounded (them) with knobbed nails of bronze. I made high doors of fir, made (them fast with bronze bands, (and) hung (them) in its gateways. (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers = RIMA II, pp 55-56)

When we stated above that "one palace construction *may have been* left incomplete by Ashur-resh-ishi I" we were merely addressing the fact that the first mention of a "palace" in that quote was supplied by Grayson, (using *ekallum*, the common Assyrian name for palace) whereas the cuneiform text translated as "palace" at the end of the sentence, clearly visible in the document being copied, uses the Sumerian logograms É.GAL (lit. "great house"), which is employed by scribes frequently to reference a temple as well as a palace.

We have quoted Tiglath-Pileser I in this one instance to further demonstrate the unlikelihood that this king would leave incomplete any construction begun by his father, much less a palace in the city of Apki.

Case closed. The mention of Ashur-resh-ishi II in column 5 of the Broken Obelisk argues for Adad-Nirari II as the likely source of the annals in columns 1-4, and conversely, the identification of Adad-Nirari II as the author of column 5 (following Luckenbill) argues for Adad-Nirari II as the likely author of the annals of the Broken Obelisk.

Argument 2.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number two reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below.

"the broken Obelisk was found in conjunction with another inscription of Ashur-bel-kala;"

This is actually an argument which favors Tiglath-pileser II. If we are going to form an opinion about the authorship of two documents found side by side in some remote location, based only on their proximity to one another, then we should at least add a comment or two to clarify their condition, the location where they were found, their original provenance, and the circumstances which must have prevailed at the time they were discarded. Brinkman's brief comment provides none of that. Let us first remedy this "lack of detail" problem, and then proceed to comment on this "find". We turn this time to A. Kirk Grayson who comments:

> This text is inscribed on a stone stele, commonly called the 'Broken Obelisk', which was found at Nineveh but originally must have been erected in Assur. On the front of the stele, between the first two columns of the inscription, a relief has been engraved showing the king, leading prisoners by nose rings, and various divine symbols. (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers 99)

And on the following page Grayson adds:

> Rassam says he found this stele (BM 118898, 56-9-9,59), which measures 65.4+ cm high and 40.6 cm square, at Nineveh in a ditch about halfway between the palaces of Senn [Sennacherib] and Asb [Ashurbanipal]. A Stone female torso, with an inscription of Assur-bel-kala (A.0.89.10), was found in the same ditch. (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers 100) [The two names in square brackets have been added by the author of this paper to clarify the abbreviations]

Based on the information provided by Grayson we can argue our case that the Obelisk was authored by Tiglath-Pileser II, not in spite of the fact that the two objects shown in our Figure 2 were found together, but partly because of that fact. We develop our argument in point form.

1) In our last paper we argued the fact that during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II the Aramean tribe named Arime, already occupying the area between Mount Kashiari and Nisaybin, were joined by other Aramean tribes, most notably the Temanites, in expanding Aramean territory to include the land mass north of the Tur 'Abdin range as far as the Tigris basin, and southward to include Assyria, which was overrun, sacked, and pillaged. This attack took place near the end of

the 4th year of Tiglath-Pileser II, thus 963 or 962 BC. In one of our following arguments we will fine tune that date.

2) We have previously quoted Grayson on the fact that the Obelisk, though found in a ditch in Nineveh, was likely originally set up somewhere in Assur. And the female torso may originate from Assur as well, though other scholars suggest Nineveh as its provenance. In truth it could have come from anywhere in Assyria, since on the back of the statue, after first listing his genealogy, Ashur-bel-kala adds a concluding line of text which states:

> I made these sculptures in the provinces, cities and garrisons for titillation [Grayson uses the word "enjoyment".] (quote from the Wikipedia article on the "Assyrian statue (BM 124963)"

For reference purposes we include below (Figure 2) photos of the Obelisk and the "torso".

Figure 2: Photos of the Broken Obelisk and the Ashur-bel-kala female torso .

3) Combining items 1) and 2) we argue that these two items are discarded trophies of war. We assume they were considered desirable by one of the invading Aramean commanders, and

were in the process of being removed from Assur to Nineveh to somewhere much further north, presumably on one of the chariots used by the Arameans. If we had to guess the reason why they were abandoned, we would suggest that their weight might have been a factor. Each of these monuments must have weighed hundreds of pounds. Transporting them hundreds of miles from Assur to their home city may well have posed problems that caused the looters to change their minds. Alternatively we might speculate that both objects were damaged by some accident, perhaps a wheel breaking off from the axel and tipping the chariot. The damage to the stone objects caused by the fall lessened their appeal and they were abandoned in the ditch. We are guessing, but at least we are attempting to account for their being recovered in a ditch, miles from their place of origin. If traditional historians can do a better job of hypothesizing, so be it.

The desirability factor needs no further explanation. Both objects are large and have attractive images. The Obelisk features an Assyrian king holding foreign soldiers captive on a leash. Why would a "foreign soldier" not want to possess this monument to boast of his victory over the Assyrian king. And why would a male Aramean soldier not want to own a statue of a naked female torso, particularly if this female represents the Assyrian goddess Astarte/Ishtar, as some scholars conjecture. Without doubt the Arameans could not read the inscriptions. Their focus would be on the sculptured figures.

4) Contrast this argument with the currently accepted opinion that both objects were created by Ashur-bel-kala. No scholar has ever argued that Assyria was "overrun, sacked and pillaged" during this king's reign. Thus the critic needs to explain how these items were found in a ditch miles from either Assyrian palace and almost a hundred miles from Assur, whence came the Obelisk at least. The proximity of the Obelisk to the torso says absolutely nothing about its authorship. We move on to the next argument.

Argument 3.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number three reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below:

"the Arameans in the Broken Obelisk are referred to as living in (KUR) A-re-me; in the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, they were called Kur Ahlame KUR Armaja;"

The above is clearly an argument favoring Ashur-bel-kala over Tiglath-Pileser I as the source of the column 1-4 annals on the Obelisk. The argument is moot if we are pitting Ashur-bel-kala against Tiglath-Pileser II. We have already argued in our previous paper that the multiple campaigns against "the land of Arime" on the Obelisk is an argument favoring Tiglath-Pileser II, since the only other Assyrian document which names this Arime tribe as a resident of this same land mass occurs in the annals of Adad-nirari II, written forty years later. If instead the Obelisk

is dated to the reign of Ashur-bel-kala we would be compelled to assume that this tribe occupied the identical northern Assyrian/Mitanni area for over 170 years i.e. from 1073 to 900 BC. This scenario is not just improbable, it is arguably impossible. We have already commented on the fact that Ashur-bel-kala was in possession of the powerful army of Tiglath-pileser I, as were many of his descendants. We acknowledge that their strength diminished over time, but they were certainly capable of driving the Arameans from that area of the country, assuming they were ever there. While we spend little time on this argument, it is nevertheless compelling.

Argument 4.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number four reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below:

"the many phrases borrowed from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I may reflect a desire of Ashur-bel-kala to imitate the exploits of his renowned father and also show that the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I – and perhaps even his scribes – were still ready to hand;"

This statement is clearly posed as an argument favoring authorship of the annals by Ashur-bel-kala over authorship by his father Tiglath-Pileser I, but clearly the comparison should be reversed. What better conclusion should follow from the observation that two documents use the same phraseology, and recount some of the same events, than that the two documents are the work of the same king. For decades in the 20th century, Assyrian scholars argued that very fact from this "duplication" of language and "exploits". Their conclusion was that the annals were the work of the father, not the son. How is it that the logic now goes the other way? We don't know why Brinkman would have included this observation as an argument in favor of authorship by Ashur-bel-kala. It is clearly a non-sequitur.

Having said that we can at least claim the fact that this duplication of language from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I did continue through the ages, this because those annals, being the first of a kind, acted as a template for future kings and their scribes. We could, if time permitted, produce many phrases, and cite many actions, in the annals of the Neo-Assyrian kings Adad-Nirari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II, Ashurbanipal II, and Shalmanezer III, that duplicate phrases and actions in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I. And there is one king who would surely be aware of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, and emulate his ancestor in any way possible, because he was named after him. We refer, of course, to Tiglath-Pileser II. When Brinkman pointed out the fact that the annals of the Broken Obelisk "may reflect a desire by […] to imitate" Tiglath-Pileser I, he was actually correct. Unfortunately he had the wrong name in the middle of that sentence.

Argument 5.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number five reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below:

"the month names employed in the text are Babylonian, in contrast to the texts of Tiglath-Pileser I, in which the changeover from Assyrian to Babylonian month names was still going on."

We begin our analysis of this statement by suggesting that it m*isrepresents the contrast between the naming of months by Tiglath-Pileser I and the naming of months by his son Ashur-bel-kala.* There is no great difficulty in describing the system employed by Tiglath-Pileser I. In the few instances where he identifies the year, the year is simply numbered. As for month name he has an even simpler system, i.e. no system at all. Not a single Babylonian month name is employed, and even more remarkably, the word "month" is never even used. All of the campaigns of this king are simply recited back-to-back, presumably, but not certainly, in chronological order. By contrast, in the Obelisk absolutely every campaign of the author is introduced, whether directly or indirectly, by the Babylonian month name in which that campaign took place. More specifically, in the Obelisk there are fourteen occurrences of a Babylonian month name and two instances where the month is introduced (ina ITI = "in the month") but the month name is illegible. Almost every one of the twelve Babylonian month names occurs somewhere. We are clearly dealing here with a fully developed system, where every year is referenced by an Assyrian eponym, and every month is named using the Babylonian system. This practice cannot possibly have evolved in the three years between the death of Tiglath-Pileser I (1076) and the beginning of the reign of Ashur-bel-kala (1073). Brinkman states that in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I "the changeover from Assyrian to Babylonian month names was still going on", but we say that the changeover has yet to begin, not only for Babylonian month names, but also for the application of the eponym system. We invite the reader to peruse the lengthy annals from Tiglath-Pileser I's first five years, looking to see what system was employed therein and contrast that with the fully developed system in the Broken Obelisk.

This argument may be brief, but it is extremely persuasive. And it becomes even more so if the reader should read the other inscriptions purported to belong to Assur-bel-kala. A. Kirk Grayson, in his *Assyrian Rulers* [pp. 86-112], has compiled a list of over a dozen texts, some mere fragments, others collated from multiple fragments, and in one instance a clay cone. Included of course is the collated text from our argument 1 (A.0.89.4), the inscription from the back of the female torso discussed earlier (A.0.89.10) and of course, the Broken Obelisk (A.0.89.7) What is unique in this list of documents is the fact that, with the exception of the Broken Obelisk and one other document (A.0.89.8), none of these inscriptions employs Babylonian month names, and with the exception of our argument 1 inscription and one other document (again A.0.89.8) no other inscription ever employs an eponym name. And since we

have already argued that the supposed eponym in A.0.89.4 does not belong to Ashur-bel-kala and the eponyms and Babylonian names on the document A.0.89.7 (= the Broken Obelisk) do not belong to Ashur-bel=kala, we are left with only one document (A.0.89.8) which distinguishes itself from the documents authored by Tiglath-Pileser 1.

And would the reader be surprised to learn that according to Grayson this inscription has been collated, though the only source referenced is BM 122628, inaccessible to this author at this time. As with our argument 1 the name of Ashur-bel-kala is present at the beginning of the collated text, and the critical section, in this case containing the month name and the introduction of the limmu name, is located at the end. We include Grayson's transliteration and translation of the latter:

> […] ITI.KIN UD 5.KÁM l[imu …]
> […] Month of Elul, fifth day, eponymy [of …]

Needless to say we believe that the date line at the end and the king's genealogy at the beginning were not originally included in the same inscription, and that fact should be demonstrable if and when we can access BM 122629. In the meanwhile we simply mention this one incongruity. The mention of the "eponymy of …" in the document A.0.89.8 is not only unique in these published annals, it stands in sharp contrast with the rest of the documents clearly attributable to Ashur-bel-kala. These consistently employ the numbering system for years used by Tiglath-Pileser 1. Several of the documents mention the accession year and first year of Ashur-bel-kala, and document A.0.89.2 actually mentions that king's accession year as well as his first, second and fourth years. With the exception of A.0.89.8, the authenticity of which we question, it appears that the dating methodology employed by the scribes of Ashur-bel-kala is precisely the same as that used by his father. Not only has little progress been made toward a Babylonian system of dating months, we believe that absolutely *no progress* has been made. And that, in and of itself, is sufficient argument to prove that the annals of the Broken Obelisk were not authored by Ashur-bel-kala.

Assuming that the annals of the Broken Obelisk were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935), whose reign began 110 years after the death of Tiglath-Pileser I (1076), all problems disappear. We can argue, *a fortiori*, that Tiglath-Pileser II is a much better candidate for authorship of the annals than was Ashur-bal-kala, *because* the further we are removed from the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, the more likely it would be for the Babylonian system to be introduced to Assyrian scribes and become commonplace.

We leave the argument there.

Argument 6.

On pages 36-37 of our previous paper we discussed the fact that Adad-Nirari II, on his 1st campaign against Hanigalbat, fought against the Temanite Aramean king Nur-Adad near his home city Pa'zi at the foot of Mount Kashiari [Grayson records the name as Pauza (Assyrian Rulers 149, lines 40,41]. We commented at the time that this city is almost certainly the same city mentioned in the Broken Obelisk, 3rd column, line 8 where we read that

> "In that year, and in the month Iyyar, on an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of Pausa, which lieth at the foot of the mountain of Kasiari (?) he fought"

Clearly in both instances the city of Pausa/Pauza was an Aramean stronghold, and very likely, as in the annals of Adad-nirari II, the capital of a swath of Aramean land running from Mount Kashiari south and east toward the eastern tributaries of the Khabur River.

At the time this correspondence of names raised the issue of the authorship of the annals of the Broken Obelisk. We promised to raise the issue again in our next paper as but one reason favoring Tiglath-Pileser II over Ashur-bel-kala as the king whose annals fill columns 1-4 of the Obelisk. We are here keeping our promise.

This reference to Pausa at the foot of Mount Kashiari is dated to the year 901 BC in Adad-Nirari's annals, leading us to inquire - Is it more reasonable to assume that the Obelisk inscription naming the same Aramean held city was authored roughly 60 years earlier, during the initial years of Tiglath-pileser II (966-935) or over 170 years earlier, during the initial years of Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056). In the case of Tiglath-pileser II, we can at least argue that the Arameans arrived en masse and occupied that city during the initial years of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, approximately 40 years earlier, time for it to develop into a major Aramean stronghold. In the case of Ashur-bel-kala the Arameans occupying the Mount Kashiari region would have arrived a mere six or seven years earlier, during the hypothetical Aramean raid on Assyria attested by a badly damaged chronicle. Let the reader decide.

We do not wish to change a single word in that earlier argument. It stands as is, and its force cannot be denied.

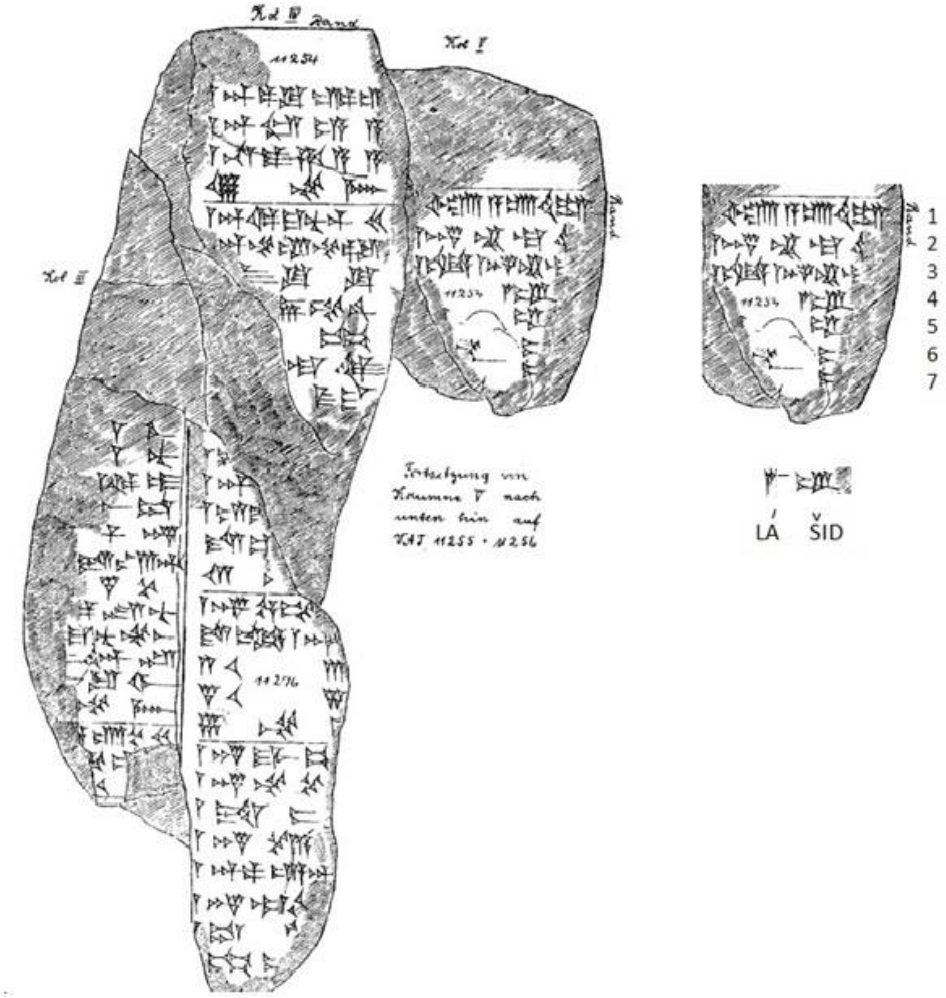
Argument 7.

While we have stated previously that inscriptions of any kind are almost completely lacking in the lengthy reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, there is one significant exception. There does exist a large tablet, highly fragmented, which itemizes the eponyms of many Assyrian kings prior to Adad-Nirari II. By no means are all eponym years represented in the various fragments, though places where the eponyms were intended to be recorded are present, enabling scholars to

determine the reign lengths of the kings represented. Fortunately, the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II is represented, and entries for over half of his 32 official years are present. His first seven years appear on one tablet fragment (see the line drawing of tablet KAV 21 in Figure 3 below), the others are located on another fragment. Unfortunately only the first two of the first seven years have an actual eponym inserted, but some information is preserved for the other five years. These entries, somewhat vague in meaning, are nevertheless extremely informative.

While many of the entries on the tablet fragments elsewhere are damaged, we are fortunate that on the eponym tablet KAV 21 (= VAT 11254) the entries for years 1-7 of Tiglath-Pileser II are clearly visible, a fact which allows us to compare (and contrast) with the eponyms from years 1-4 on the Broken Obelisk. We summarize this comparison in Table 1 on the following page. Needless to say, we are encouraged by the results.

Figure 3: Eponym entries on tablet KAV 21 (= VAT 11254)
for the first seven years of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II.



In our Figure 3 we have duplicated the relevant portion of the tablet, a section already broken off a larger piece and rejoined. In the duplicated portion we have numbered the lines representing years 1-7 of Tiglath-Pileser II (=Tukulti-apil-Esharra (II)). The entry on line 4 actually resembles a single sign, because either the scribe in the original tablet or the author of the line drawing, has merged two signs into one. We have separated them in the space below the duplicated section.

Table 1: Comparison of the eponyms on tablet fragment KAV 21 and the eponyms on the Broken Obelisk.

Eponym Year	Eponym Name on Broken Obelisk	Eponym Name on KAV 21
1st	[Tukulti-apil-Esharra (II)]	Tukulti-apil-Esh[arra] (II)
2nd	Ashur – [. . .]	Ashur-bali-lamu
3rd	Ashur-rim-nisheshu	*ša arki* Ashur-bali-lamu
4th	Ilu-iddinu	LÁ ŠID
5th		ŠID
6th		ŠID
7th		ŠID

We spend little time here discussing the first two eponyms. They are precisely what we would expect assuming that the Broken Obelisk was authored by Tiglath-Pileser II. Assyrian kings typically assumed the role of limmu in either their first or second years, and here Tiglath-Pileser has chosen the first year. Unfortunately the name on the Obelisk would have been positioned in the heavily damaged first column and is no longer visible. The second limmu on the Obelisk is also damaged, but at least the beginning of the name is present in column two. Lest the reader make light of the presence of this partial name, we point out that on average only 10% of limmu names begin with the name of the Assyrian god. We actually reviewed the names on one exhaustive list of eponym names from the Neo-Assyrian period and found that precisely 26 of the 260 eponyms listed began with that name. There is clearly evidentiary value in the fact that the second limu on KAV 21 begins with the name Assur. From the point of view of the revised history it would have been disconcerting, to say the least, had the eponym in the second year not begun with that name.

Regrettably the third year eponym must have been in a damaged section of the tablet copied by the present scribe, since he includes only the phrase " *ša arki* Ashur-bali-lamu". For an explanation of that phrase, written in lieu of the actual eponym for the 3rd year, we turn to a section of Alan Millard's book *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire (1994),* duplicated in an online article here.

> Selecting the eponym long in advance of the start of his year avoided the problem the year name system created in Babylonia where the new year might have begun before its name was announced. In such a

> situation the scribes were forced to write 'year after' the name of the previous year. If an Assyrian scribe did not know the name of the current eponym, he would use a similar formula, 'in the eponymate following' (*ša arki*) the previous one. … Something similar is listed for Tiglath-pileser II (c. 966-935 BC), where one eponym followed him, then a *sha arki*, and others occur later in his reign. (Millard, Eponyms 67)

We turn elsewhere for an explanation as to why the scribe might not know the name of the limmu official for a specific year. The Wikipedia article for Shalmaneser II provides that explanation. According to that article the term ša arki "indicates that the limmu 'which is after' (the previous name)" suggests either that the original from which this list was copied was defective in this place or the gap in the office coincides with a period of turbulence. Since we know from the Obelisk inscription that the limmu official for the third year was named Ashur-rim-nisheshu, we must assume that the original document was damaged in this location. Regrettably.

As for the 4th year eponym LÁ ŠID we follow the sign list in Rene Labat's *Manuel D'Epigraphie Akkadienne* 5th edition (1976) where on p. 213 (sign #481) and p. 143 (sign #314) we find possible meanings of the logograms LÁ and ŠID respectively. According to Labat the logogram LÁ is best represented by the Assyrian word "kamû", which functions either as a verb meaning "faire prisonnier" or "enchaîner" or as a noun "captif". Labat associates the logogram ŠID with either the Assyrian verb "manû" = "compter" or "reciter", or with the noun "minûtu" meaning "compte" or "recitation". These suggestions need to be explained.

One thing is clear from the inclusion of the logogram LÁ. Ilu-iddinu, the eponym official for this 4th year, has been taken captive and is unable to perform the duties required of a *limmu*. His name has thus been deleted from the list. The document KAV 21 was clearly copied late in that 4th year since earlier in the year the Obelisk recorded several campaigns dated to the eponym year Ilu-iddinu. We don't know precisely how to normalize and translate "kamû", since the logogram LÁ is not clearly part of a sentence and thus the context is weakly described. But we hazard a guess that it means "he is taken captive", a reference to Ilu-iddinu, since the third line is intended to contain a limmu name. Another guess would be "captivity", though multiple other possibities exist.

ŠID is even more difficult to interpret, and especially so since it is the sole occupant of the 5th, 6th, and 7th year positions, and on another tablet the 8th, 9th and 10th years as well. We continue to support the basic meanings of the logogram advocated by Labat. The question is how to normalize into Assyrian and translate into English a verb whose basic meaning is "to count" and "to recite". Thus we need to know precisely what needs to be counted and what needs to be recited?

As one scholar has remarked in reference to Sumerian logograms:

> "*The correct Akkadian reading of logograms cannot always be ascertained, even if the basic meaning of the logogram is well known.*" (see footnote 41 on page 25 here)

For help we turn to an online article written by John Alan Halloran entitled "Tally Sticks, Counting Boards, and Sumerian Proto-Writing. This Sumerian scholar, commenting on the basic meaning of the logogram ŠID, has related it to a sheepherder "counting" his sheep at the end of day, perhaps actually laying down "tally sticks" to aid the numbering process, or "reciting" (ie. counting out loud) the number of animals as they pass. He quotes an ancient Sumerian text entitled "The Debate between Sheep and Grain" which has the following inclusion:

> "Every night your ***count*** is made and your tally-stick put into the ground, so your herdsman can tell people how many ewes there are and how many young lambs, and how many goats and how many young kids." (ETCSL 5.3.2, lines 130-133) (emphasis added)

He concludes with the statement that "taking this passage into account, together with other lexiclal evidence" his Sumerian Lexicon defines ŠID variously as "to count; to consider; to calculate, figure out; to memorize; to recite; to read aloud."

Taking the above statements into account we suggest that the 4th year eponym space has been taken over to announce the captivity of Ilu-iddinu, and thus his removal from office. Limmus are known to have had official duties, which Ilu-iddinu is no longer in a position to complete. He is not only removed from Assyria; he is removed from office. In effect the captivity of Assyria has placed the office of "limmu" in limbo until such time as the "captivity" has ended. If this opinion is correct, we can determine from tablet fragment KAV 21, and the other fragment not analyzed in this paper, that the captivity of Assyria lasted for approximately six or seven years.

As for the logogram ŠID we suggest normalizing it as an imperative, and translate accordingly as "count!". And what is being counted? In context that can only be the years of the Assyrian captivity = the years during which Assyria had no limmu official. LÁ.ŠID according to this theory should read "He is taken captive. Count!", the latter a directive for Assyrians to begin, and in the following years to continue, to tally the years of the captivity, like a sheepherder counts his sheep? Highly speculative, we admit. But also informative.

And why this lengthy discourse regarding the 4th year entry? We have already argued multiple times that early in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, Assyria was overrun by Arameans, and turned into a vassal state. Assuming that the Broken Obelisk is a record of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser II, and was left incomplete sometime during the late stages of the eponymy of Ilu-Iddinu, the inclusion of the logograms LÁ and ŠID in KAV 21 constitute yet another strong argument in favor of our identification of Tiglath-Pileser II as the author of the Obelisk annals.

Argument 8

Our argument here relates to a Assyrian city north of the Tur 'Abdin, on the north bank of the Tigris, named Giricano, excavated by archaeologists between the years 1999 and 2003 with the excavation reports of the epigraphic finds published in 2004 in a book authored by Karen

Radner entitled Das mittelassyrishe Tontafelarchiv von Girican/Dunnu-sa-Uzibi. We let a review of that book fill us in on the details.

This volume is devoted to the epigraphic finds from Giricano, a tell in the Upper Tigris region of south-eastern Turkey. It is the first of the final reports recording the excavations carried out at this site between 1999 and 2003 by a team from Munich University directed by Andreas Schachner. In this book Karen Radner [the Assyriologist on the excavation team] publishes an archive of fifteen cuneiform tablets that were found in a sealed pottery vessel. The texts constitute a coherent group of legal texts written within one year and can be dated to the reign of Assur-bel-kala of Assyria (1073-1056 B.C.). They deal with affairs in a specific type of Middle Assyrian agricultural establishment, which was named Dunnu-Sa-Uzibi and may be identified with the site of Giricano. These texts deal with a time and place in history that hitherto was almost completely unknown, the late second millennium in the Upper Tigris region. In her publication Karen Radner integrates the new data into the wider context of the ancient geography and the history of the region and discusses the significance of this archive for our knowledge of Assyrian legal practice and economy. These texts also provide us with welcome new information on the terminology for the production of bulghur (cracked wheat) and shed some light on a largely undocumented stage in the development of the Assyrian language. In addition to Radner's philological treatment, Andreas Schachner presents a detailed study of the archaeological context of the find and Michael Roaf describes the recovery and preservation of the fragile texts, the first unfired clay tablets to be unearthed in Turkey; his richly illustrated report will serve as a valuable field manual to other archaeologists faced with a similar task. In a concluding chapter, Radner and Schachner combine archaeological and philological data in order to trace the development of the settlement pattern in the Upper Tigris region from the Mittani period to the Neo-Assyrian period and to investigate the agricultural organisation of the area. (Antiqbook's book review)

We are particularly interested in the dates assigned to the group of fifteen unfired tablets, found in a lidded jar near the surface of the site. All but two of these tablet inscriptions describe transactions dated to the eponymy of Ilu-iddunu, which scholars everywhere have endorsed as being the same eponym mention in the Broken Obelisk. Thus the tablets are dated to the time of Ashur-bel-kala. And since the tablets were recovered just below the surface, and had yet to be fired, scholars are agreed that this site must have been invaded and destroyed around the year 1070 BC, the 4th year of that king, and almost certainly by the Arameans.

In the few trenches dug in the vicinity of the tablets, the archaeologist discerned either three or four quite shallow occupation layers, all identified as Assyrian, followed by a distinct strata sequence belonging to the Hurrians/Mitanni. Radner estimated that each Assyrian layer represents about 40 years of occupation, thus assigning a total of about 160 years for the duration of the Assyrian period. Other archaeologists on the team saw only three layers and assigned a lesser number of years to the Assyrian occupation at the site. Assuming that Radner was correct the site was initially occupied by Hurrian/Mitanni peoples, then overrun by Assyrians who dwelt at the site for ca 160 years, only to be driven from the area around 1070 BC. Apparently the merchant who authored the tablets, named Idinni son of Ilu-kidinni had advance warning of the impending disaster, and hastily buried the records of his most recent business endeavours. The Aramean invaders did not remain to occupy the site, though apparently they did occupy adjacent sites for an extensive period of time. Putting all of this

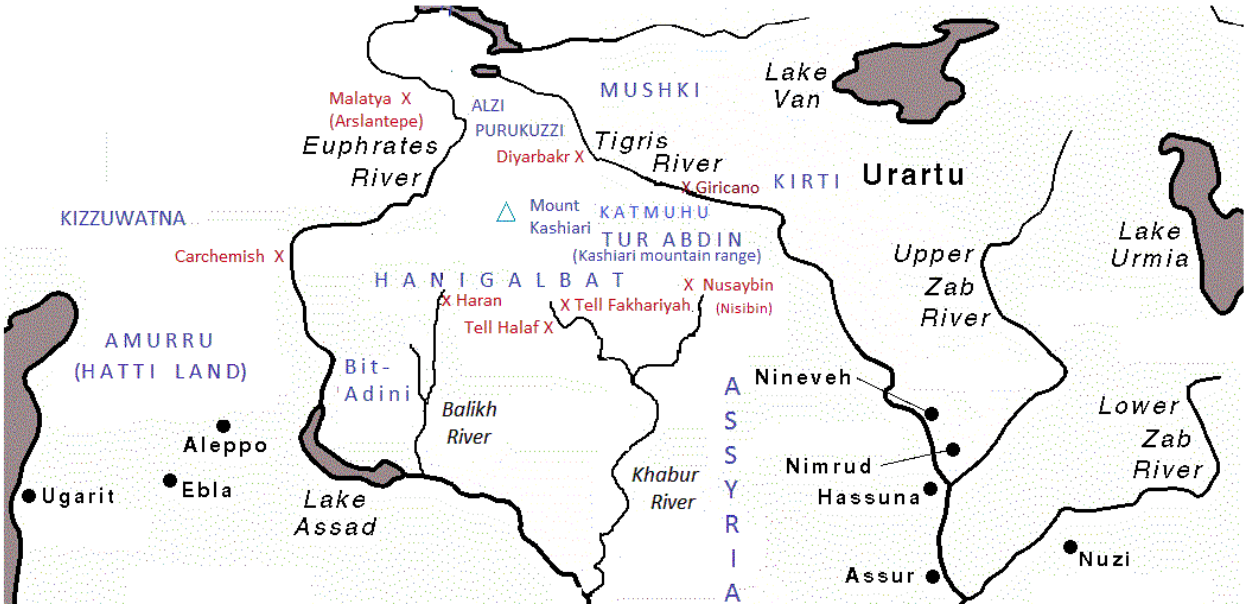
data together the archaeological team at Giricano believe the area was first occupied by Mitanni, who were displaced around the year 1230 BC (= 1070 + 160) by Assyrians, whose tenure lasted until the approximate year 1070, whence came the Arameans.

Assuming that the revised history is correct, the history of the Giricano area needs to have dates lowered significantly, since we assign the Obelisk to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935) whose 4th year, the eponymy of Ilu-iddinu, fell in 963 BC. In turn the Assyrian invasion which ousted the Hurrians and Mitanni from the region of Giricano must be dated to the approximate year 1123 BC (963 +160), this assuming the accuracy of Karen Radner's estimate of the length of the Assyrian occupation at the site. Confirmation that we are correct comes from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076), those which describe his campaigns during his initial five years as king. We reviewed these years briefly in our previous paper, where on page 15 we made the following comment:

> The five years documented in the annals [of Tiglath-Pileser I] witnessed the Assyrian army marching through largely mountainous territory north as far as the Black Sea, eastward to the vicinity of Lake Van and the headwaters of the Upper Zab River, north and east as far as Ashura and across the Euphrates to the region of Milidia (modern Malatya, Mildish in ARAB), and eastward along the Euphrates to its western bend. There Tiglath-Pileser crossed the Euphrates and conquered the land of Amurru, ending up on the shore of the Mediterranean, where he washed his weapons in the Sea and then went on a Mediterranean hunting expedition/cruise. *One of the regions emphasized in the annals was the area of Katmuhu, mentioned above, bordering the north side of the Tigris as that River takes a westerly turn north of the Tur 'Abdin range. Twice he visited this area, the second time after the neighboring territory of Kirti had come to the aid of the defeated cities of Katmuhu. In the end, Tiglath-pileser won the day, bringing this territory back into the Assyrian fold.* In our next paper we will have cause to revisit this region and comment on these campaigns, this in order to correct a faulty interpretation of the recent archaeological excavation of the ruins at Giricano). (Paper #4, p. 15) (emphasis and bracketed item added)

At the end of that quote we referenced a map of the regions conquered by Tiglath-Pileser I, an abbreviated version of which we reproduce below as our Figure 4.

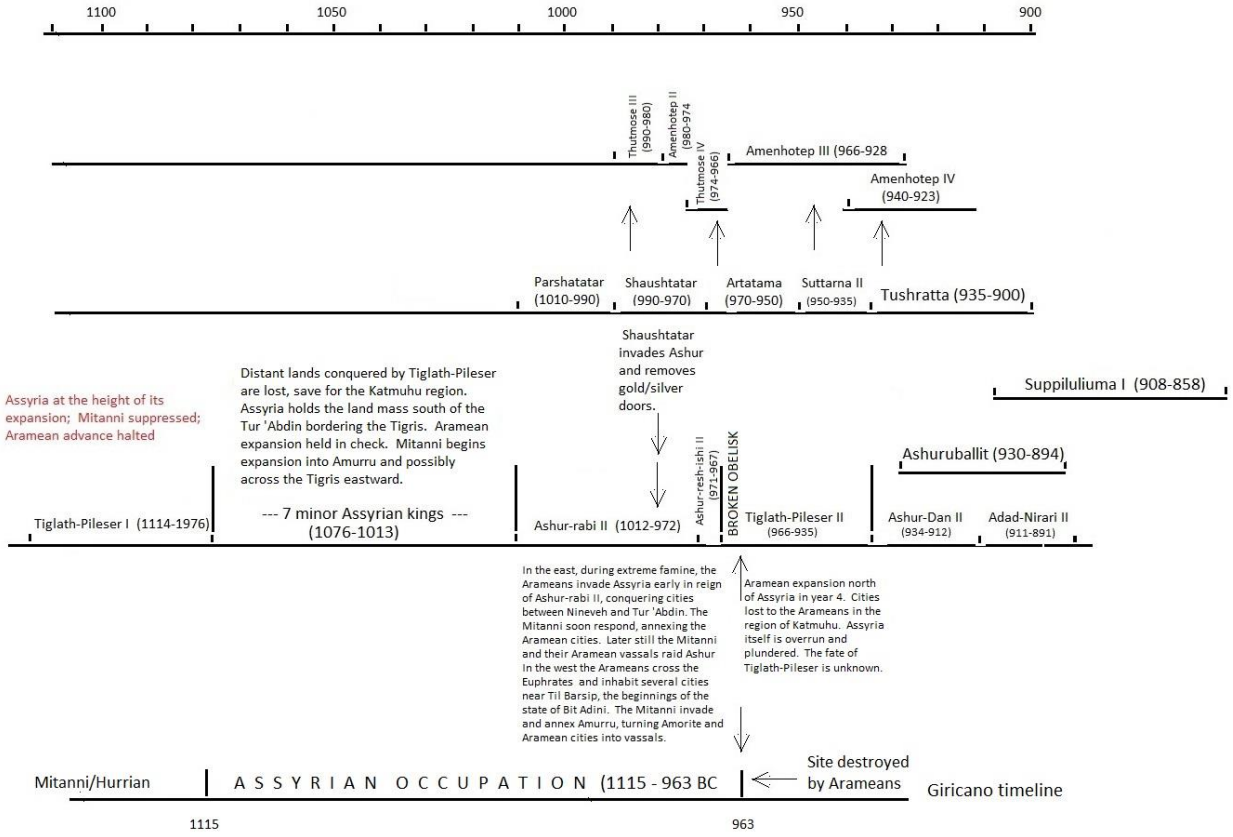
Figure 4: Map showing the region of Hanigalbat, homeland of the Mitanni (adapted from our Figure 4 on p. 14 of paper #4)



The two attacks on the Katmuhu region, which includes Giricano, took place in the accession year of Tiglath-Pileser I, thus in 1115 BC. This implies that the Assyrian occupation of the site of Giricano lasted from 1115 – 1070 BC, assuming that the annals of the Broken Obelisk were written by Ashur-bel-kala, and 1115 – 963 assuming they were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II. Thus the occupation lasted a mere 45 years in the first instance, well over a hundred years less than the archaeologists at the site of Giricano estimated. If we assume that the destruction took place in 963 BC, the 4th year of Tiglath-Pileser II, the occupation lasted 152 years (1115-963), and Radner's estimate of 40 years for each of the 4 Assyrian strata need be reduced by only 2 years. Which scenario is correct? Let the reader decide.

Even our most critical reader will have to admit that our revised dates for the Broken Obelisk are remarkably accurate. In Figure 5 below, we duplicate from our previous paper the chart summarizing the timelines of the Mitanni, the Assyrians, and the Arameans in the 1st millennium, this time adding the timeline for the occupation of Giricano.

Figure 5: Giricano occupation timeline


1100
1050
1000
950
900
Thutmose III (990-980)
Amenhotep II (980-974)
Thutmose IV (974-966)
Amenhotep III (966-928
Amenhotep IV (940-923)
Parshatatar (1010-990)
Shaushtatar (990-970)
Artatama (970-950)
Suttarna II (950-935)
Tushratta (935-900)
Shaushtatar invades Ashur and removes gold/silver doors.
Suppiluliuma I (908-858)
Assyria at the height of its expansion; Mitanni suppressed; Aramean advance halted
Distant lands conquered by Tiglath-Pileser are lost, save for the Katmuhu region. Assyria holds the land mass south of the Tur 'Abdin bordering the Tigris. Aramean expansion held in check. Mitanni begins expansion into Amurru and possibly across the Tigris eastward.
Ashuruballit (930-894)
Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1976)
--- 7 minor Assyrian kings --- (1076-1013)
Ashur-rabi II (1012-972)
Ashur-resh-ishi II (971-967)
BROKEN OBELISK
Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935)
Ashur-Dan II (934-912)
Adad-Nirari II (911-891)
In the east, during extreme famine, the Arameans invade Assyria early in reign of Ashur-rabi II, conquering cities between Nineveh and Tur 'Abdin. The Mitanni soon respond, annexing the Aramean cities. Later still the Mitanni and their Aramean vassals raid Ashur In the west the Arameans cross the Euphrates and inhabit several cities near Til Barsip, the beginnings of the state of Bit Adini. The Mitanni invade and annex Amurru, turning Amorite and Aramean cities into vassals.
Aramean expansion north of Assyria in year 4. Cities lost to the Arameans in the region of Katmuhu. Assyria itself is overrun and plundered. The fate of Tiglath-Pileser is unknown.
Mitanni/Hurrian
A S S Y R I A N O C C U P A T I O N (1115 - 963 BC
Site destroyed by Arameans
Giricano timeline
1115
963

Needless to say, the revised history dates for the Assyrian occupation of Giricano fit perfectly with the known dates for the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser I against Katmuhu (ca 1115 BC) and the Aramean expansion into the region of Katmuhu in the 4th year of Tiglath-Pileser II (ca 963 BC), thus confirming our hypothesis that the annals of the Broken Obelisk belong to the latter king.

Argument 9.

Multiple times in the preceding three or four papers we have had cause to mention the fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu constructed by the Kassite king Kurigalzu I, whose reign is dated ca 1410-1385 BC in the traditional history. In that history, around the year 1155 BC, the Iranian king Shutruk Nakhunte invaded and conquered Karduniash, ending Kassite (3rd dynasty) rule. Among other destructive acts, Shutruk Nakhunte overran, demolished and set fire to the walled city of Dur-Kurigalzu. The revised history agrees entirely with the previous summary statement, save for the dates. We have argued throughout the recent monographs that the dates for all Kassite kings must be reduced by 440 years, thus dating the reign of Kurigalzu I to ca 970-945 BC and the invasion of Shutruk Nakhunte to ca 715 BC. It follows that in the traditional history the 255

year existence of the Kassite fortress spanned the dates ca 1410-1155, while in the revised history the city existed from ca 970 to 715 BC.

It follows from this enumeration of dates that the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu as an active thriving city in any dateable context of an Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, must necessarily date that context within one of the two time frames. The specific incident being described must either be dated ca 1410-1155 BC, on the assumption that the traditional history is correct, or 970-715 BC, assuming the accuracy of our revised history. Logically, no other possibility exists! So critical is this underlined exclamatory remark to our present argument that we take a few moments to comment on it, and we add a few other details to clarify our reasoning. Three facts need to be underscored.

Fact #1 We have previously made note of the fact that the walled city of Dur-Kurigalzu was built on the site of an existing village named Parsa. This fact turned out to be of some importance in the writing of our paper #3 when we encountered a reference to an Aramean raid on Karduniash during the reign of the mid-11th century Assyrian king Adad-apla-iddina (ca 1068-1046), an attack which supposedly included the city of Dur-Kurigalzu. This mention of Dur-Kurigalzu was problematic, and not just for the revised history. In the case of the revised history the existence of the name in the middle of the 11th century was an absolute impossibility, since both king Kurigalzu I and his namesake city did not even exist until the middle of the 10th century, thus a century later. In the case of the traditional history the mention of the name was also problematic, if not also an impossibility, since the city by that name was destroyed and abandoned a century earlier, in the middle of the 12th century. To find the source of the problem we located and read with interest the source document, and immediately discovered that the 11th century attack was actually directed at the city of Parsa, as is evident on lines 8-11 on the obverse of the Eclectic Chronicle, duplicated below. This Chronicle is the document in question.

Table 2: Eclectic Chronicle reference to the attack on Parsa in reign of Adad-apla-iddina

	8' Adad-apla-iddina descendant of Itti-Marduk-balatu, the Arameans and an usurper king rebelled against him
	9' and desecrated all the sanctuaries centers of the land. Der, Dur-Anki (Nippur).
	10' Sippar, Parsa (Dur-Kurigalzu) they demolished. The Suteans attacked and the booty of Sumer and Akkad
	11' they took home. He made frequent visits to the shrines of Marduk and appeased his heart. He totally restored his cult

It should be stressed here that the Eclectic Chronicle is not the source of the problem. It merely stated the facts as it understood them, and those facts are perfectly correct. The problem lies squarely on the shoulders of 20th century scholars such as the editor of this online edition of the

Eclectic Chronicle, who equate the names Parsa and the much later city of Dur-Kurigalzu, built on the same site, and replace one name by the other, as if the two city names are synonymous. And the problem becomes acute when 20th century scholars referencing the Eclectic chronicle inscription mention only the latter name, giving the impression that a text exists which describes the demolition of Dur-Kurigalzu in the middle of the 11th century, when nothing could be further from the truth. The city was already demolished and abandoned (traditional history), or had yet to be constructed (revised history). The substitution of names creates an anachronism which temporarily confuses the reader, in this case the present author.

But modern scholars are not the only parties guilty of this substitution of names. In an appendix to this paper we will argue that the substitution of the name Dur-Kurigalzu in documents and contexts where it does not legitimately belong, took place several times in antiquity, particularly in inscriptions copied by late 8th and early 7th century Assyrian scribes. This should not be surprising to the reader, since the revised history argues that Dur-Kurigalzu existed from ca 970 to 715 BC. It was a functioning city until very late in the 8th century BC. If a document should appear late in that time frame which references a powerful Babylonian city with name beginning with "Dur", where the balance of the name was missing, and if that document names the twin cities of Sippar in the same context, we cannot imagine a scribe *not completing the name* Dur-Kurigalzu when copying the document.

Fact #2 Before we move on to the critical final section of this 9th argument, we need to repeat and expand on the comment we made at the top of our previous page, where we insisted that "the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu as an active thriving city in any dateable context of an Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, must necessarily date that context within one of the two time frames, either 1410-1155 BC on the assumption that the traditional history is correct, or 970-715 BC assuming the accuracy of our revised history. This claim assumes that the city of Dur-Kurigalzu had a definite beginning and a definite end. The beginning, coinciding with the beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu, is firmly established for both the traditional and the revised histories. But the "definite end" may be in question in the minds of some readers of this paper. We need to underscore the fact that the invasion of Shutruck Nakhunte not only ended the 3rd dynasty Kassite kingdom, it also ended the functioning existence of the city of Dur-Kurigalzu. Many cities in antiquity were severely damaged, even demolished, and their occupants scattered, only to be revived months or even years later. No so with Dur-Kurigalzu. If one were to walk around the ruins of that city today, at a site known currently as 'Aqar Quf, located approximately 30 kilometers west of the center of Bhagdad, you would be looking at the ruins left behind by the Iranian invader, either in the approximate year 1155 BC (traditional history) or 715 BC (revised history). Scholars are adamant that the city was never reoccupied. In a moment we will quote a few sources to underscore that point. Why the site was never reoccupied when the Iranians left is never discussed in the literature familiar to this author. But we know the answer.

Though this section of our paper is primarily concerned with proving that the document known as the Broken Obelisk was authored by Tiglath-Pileser II, we would be amiss if we did not interject here a brief comment on the rather unprecedented failure of an ancient city to be revived from the destructive results of an invasion. Severe climate change - possibly, a natural disaster - maybe, a prolonged plague decimating the population - infrequently, but not an invasion, which at most will send a surviving remnant fleeing to safety, only to return when the danger has past. And why, assuming that the destruction of Dur-Kurigalzu took place in 1155 BC, ending the 3rd dynasty, would the succeeding 4th to 9th dynasties in Karduniash not reoccupy and proceed to rebuild the ancient fortress city, the most northerly walled city in Babylonia, aptly situated to defend the country against invasion from the north? There is only one reasonable explanation. The presumption that the Iranian invasion took place in 1155 BC. Is incorrect. But the permanent abandonment of the city makes perfect sense on the assumption it occurred in 715/14 BC, at a time when Babylonian civilization was rapidly disintegrating. As early as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727) and Shalmaneser V (726-722) and into the reign of Sargon II (721-707), Babylonia was progressively falling into Assyrian hands. The Iranian assault by Shutruk Nakhunte accelerated the process, and the powerful Assyrian kings Sennacherib (704-681), Esarhaddon (680-669) and Ashurbanipal (668-ca 627) completed the takeover. Through much of the 7th century Babylonia had no independent rulers. The country was ruled by the Assyrians. The last thing these Neo-Assyrian kings wanted would be a revived defensive fortress at the site of Dur-Kurigalzu, which might be used by the local population to assert and defend Babyonian sovereignty.

Our claim that Dur-Kurigalzu was abandoned, and never reconstructed nor repopulated, is not in need of defending, though there are a few scholars who claim that for a few years at least, during the Neo-Babylonian revival late in the 7th century and during the first half of the 6th, the Babylonians did inhabit the city. If true, this brief interlude would have no effect on our argument in this paper, but if true we wonder why they left no record of their brief sojourn. In general scholars of the traditional history accept the opinion of archaeologists that the ruins of the city visible today are the identical ruins left by the Iranian king Shutruk Nakhunte, though these same scholars are perplexed, as are we, at periodic statements in the annals of subsequent kings claiming to have attacked and destroyed Dur-Kurigalzu. There are not many of these, but those that do exist need to be examined and explained. We set the stage for a brief analysis of these claims by quoting only two sourcebooks referencing the city of Dur-Kurigalzu, namely, the article by Gwendolyn Leick in the “Historical Dictionary of Mesopotamia” and yet another quote from the book entitled *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia* by Trevor Bryce, the third time we have visited this Handbook. At minimum we will glean some information about the century of effort spent excavating at ‘Aqar Quf that has resulted in the opinion that the site was never reoccupied after its initial destruction. And we will be informed that statements exist in the annals of kings who ruled after the year 1155 BC, claiming to have conquered the city of Dur-Kurigalzu.

According to Gwendolyn Leick:

> DUR-KURIGALZU (MODERN "AQAR QUF), Babylonian city. The name means "Fortress of Kurigalzu" since it was this Kurigalzu, a Kassite king, who built his residence there in about 1400 B.C. It served as the capital of the Kassite dynasty until its demise in the mid-14th [sic.] century. Kurigalzu surrounded the city, which covered some 225 hectares, with a fortified wall. Some of the colorful murals that decorated the walls of the royal palace, as well as a number of statuary and small ornaments, have been discovered in its ruins. Kurigalzu also built a temple and a large ziggurat (69 by 67.6 meters) that still stands to a height of 57 meters today. In 1170, the city was put to the torch by the Elamites and thereafter abandoned [for approximately 450 years] until it became inhabited once more during the Neo-Babylonian period. The site was the first of the Mesopotamian mounds to be systematically excavated, first by Emile Botta (1843-184), then by Victor Place (1852-1855); Austen Layard also spent a season there in 1849. An American mission by the University of Chicago was active from 1927 to 1953. (Gwendolyn Leick, *Historical Dictionary*, 21, sv. Dur-Kurigalzu) [comments in square brackets added by this author].

And according to Trevor Bryce:

> Dur-Kurigalzu (Parsa, 'Aqar Quf) (maps 11, 13) M2 and M1 city in central Mesopotamia, 30 km west of Baghdad. The site, which consists of several mounds covering an area of c. 225 ha, was identified as Dur-Kurigalzu by H.C. Rawlinson in 1861. It was excavated between 1942 and 1945 by an Iraqi-British team under the direction of S. Lloyd and T. Baqir, for the British school of Archaeology in Iraq and the Iraqi Directorate-General of Antiquities.
>
> Though there are traces of an older settlement of C15 date, the city as such was built in early C14 or late C15 by the Kassite king Kurigalzu I to serve as the new administrative capital of the Kassite-ruled Middle Babylonian kingdom. The former capital Babylon continued to be the kingdom's most important cultural and religious centre. Material features of the site include a temple quarter dedicated to the god Enlil and containing a ziggurat, and a palace with large central hall, a throne-room, a room with wall-paintings depicting a procession of officials, and a treasury. The small finds from the palace include cuneiform tablets, gold jewellery and ornaments, glass inlays, and terracotta sculptures of a bearded man.
>
> On the basis of archaeological evidence, the site is said not to have been reoccupied after its abandonment in C12. There are, however, a number of references to Dur-Kurigalzu in Iron Age texts. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) lists it among the places he conquered during a campaign in Babylonia (*RIMB 2: 43). It was one of the Babylonian cities which fell victim to the Aramaean and Sutaean invasions of southern Mesopotamia during the reign of the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (1069-1048) (*ABC 180-1), where it is called Parsa; cf *RIMB 2: 73 for the later account given by King Simbar-Shipak, 1026-1009). And it appears on the itinerary of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II's last recorded campaign in 885; Tukulti-Ninurta is reported to have camped there for the night during his progress around the western and southern limits of his kingdom (*RIMA 2: 173-4). The city was known in M1 Babylonian sources as Dur-Galzu (RGTC 8: 121). (Trevor Bryce, Routledge Handbook, 206, sv. Dur-Kurigalzu)

We need to respond to two comments by Trevor Bryce. We note, with disapproval, his inference that at the time of Adad-apla-iddina (1069-1046) Dur-Kurigalzu was being referred to by the name "Parsa". In his defense, of course, no other option is available to the traditional historian, though it assumes that the renewed application of the name Parsa to this mound of ruins was perfectly reasonable, in spite of the fact that the name had not been applied to the site since ca 1400 BC, and would probably not be familiar to anyone but the scribe who

authored the Eclectic Chronicle, and perhaps a few other of his associates. Our second objection, if we can call it that, is to the list of "references to Dur-Kurigalzu in Iron Age texts. Tukulti-Ninurta II can be ruled off that list. On the one hand, Dur-Kurigalzu was a functioning city during his reign, and thus a reference to it, or to camping beside it, is not surprising. On the other hand and for other reasons we will be examining the brief reign of Tiglath-Pileser II in one of our following papers, and will at that time comment briefly on his mention of Dur-Kurigalzu. That leaves the supposed reference(s) to Tiglath-Pileser I campaigning against and conquering Dur-Kurigalzu. We are tempted to simple disregard these references, since on their face they are patently false, this for two reasons: 1) We don't understand why this powerful king would boast about conquering a heap of ruins, and 2) If the ruins are called Parsa in the reign of Adad-apla =iddina (1069-1046), how is it that they are called Dur-Kurigalzu late in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (1114-1076), only a decade or so earlier.

In an appendix to this paper we are going to spend some time analyzing the document(s) supposedly authored by Tiglath-Pileser I, but only to defend our revised history, which argues that the city by that name was constructed much later by the Kassite king Kurigalzu I (970-945), with construction beginning early in his reign. It follows that there can hardly have existed original documents featuring the name Dur-Kurigalzu and dated to the approximate year ca 1083 BC. Late, edited copies of original documents are a possibility, since scribal errors abound in Assyrian inscriptions, but original documents from the 11th century naming Dur-Kurigalzu as an active city are an absolutely impossibility, as noted several times already. We acknowledge that there do exist inscriptions, attributed to Tiglath-Pileser I, which attest to a campaign launched against the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-ahhe around the year ca 1083, which claim to have wrought havoc in the cities Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Anunitum, Babylon and Opis. Their existence needs to be explained. But because we do not want to stray too far off topic, our remarks on this subject are confined to an appendix to this paper.

Fact #3 We introduced the city of Dur-Kurigalzu into our "argument 9" for a reason perhaps not yet clear to a few of our readers, who know only that somehow it must argue our case for dating the Broken Obelisk. The argument is not hard to follow.

Hopefully we have convinced our readers of the accuracy of our statement made at the top of page 28 and again on page 29, to the effect that

> the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu as an active thriving city in any dateable context of an Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, must necessarily date that context within one of the two time frames. The specific incident being described must either be dated ca 1410-1155 BC, on the assumption that the traditional history is correct, or 970-715 BC, assuming the accuracy of our revised history. Logically, no other possibility exists!"

And as is already known to anyone who has read the Obelisk inscription, in the third year of the king whose annals fill the first four columns of text on the Obelisk, Karduniash was invaded and cities in the district of Dur-Kurigalzu were conquered.

> In the month Iyyar, eponymy of Assur-rim-nisheshu, he conquered the city Tur[…]tu of the land Musri. In that year, in the month Shebat, the chariots and […] went from Inner City (Assur) [and] conquered the cities […]indishulu and […]sandu, cities which are in the district of the city Dur-Kurigalzu. They captured Kadashman-Buriash, son of Itti-Marduk-balatu, governor of their land. (col. III, lines 4b-8a) (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers 101-02 = RIMA 2. 101-02)

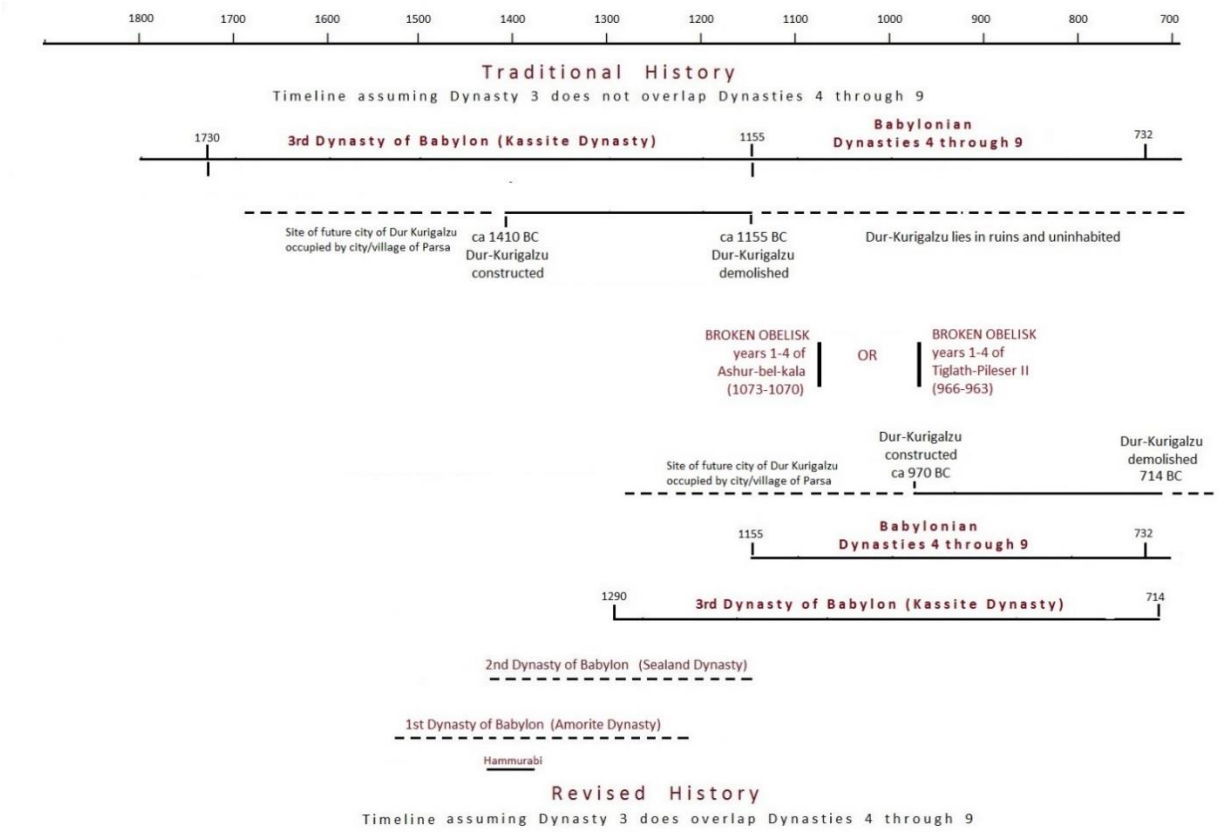
Early in the 20th century at least one prominent scholar, Frederich Delizsch, solely on the basis of these few verses, was convinced that this campaign took place early in the second half of the 2nd millennium, the time of the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil II. In hindsight he was very close to the truth, since we are here arguing that it took place in the 3rd year of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935), who was a contemporary of the Kassite king Kurigalzu I, father of Kadashman-Enlil I. Needless to say, Delizsch was and continues to be overruled by a community of scholars who believed the Obelisk must be dated very late in the 2nd millennium, either in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I or his son Ashur-bel-kala. No explanation is forthcoming today from the current generation of scholars, how it is possible that the city Dur-Kurigalzu could have been reduced to a pile of rubble, and burnt for good measure, in 1155 BC, yet be functioning as the capital of a district, complete with governor, when invaded by Tiglath-Pileser I or his son in the first half of the 11th century. And how is it that the city has a governor with a distinctive Kassite name, a century after the Kassite Empire has ceased to exist?

We rest our case as far as our "argument 9" is concerned. And we summarize the points we have just made by positioning the two possible dates for the Broken Obelisk in a timeline chart in Figure 6 below, and we include here several explanatory comments.

a) This chart is adapted from our Figure 7 on page 38 of our 4th paper, with some incidental modifications. We have removed the dates from the timelines of the 1st and 2nd dynasties while moving them back in time a modest amount. Since we have not yet found time to study this early period, this new positioning may well be moved in the future. What we wanted to preserve in the arrangement of dynasties is fact that each dynasty is numbered in the king lists according to the date when the dynasty began, no matter when it ended.

We have added timelines for the occupation of the site of Dur-Kurigalzu as described in both the traditional and the revised histories, and we have positioned the location of the annals of the Broken Obelisk precisely where 21st century scholars believe it should be positioned, ca 1073-1070, and for advocates of the revised history, in the time frame 966-963.

Figure 6: Chart showing the possible dates for the Broken Obelisk assuming the accuracy of both the traditional and the revised histories.



b) We mention for the fourth time in this 9th argument that

> the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu as an active thriving city in any dateable context of an Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, must necessarily date that context within one of the two time frames. The specific incident being described must either be dated in the range ca 1410-1155 BC, on the assumption that the traditional history is correct, or 970-715 BC, assuming the accuracy of our revised history. Logically, no other possibility exists!" (quote from the top of page 28, middle of page 29 and bottom of page 32)

If the reader agreed with that earlier remark then he/she will clearly agree that we can rule out the 1073-1070 date for the Broken Obelisk and any other dates in the time frame 1155-970 BC. The Obelisk cannot be dated within those two extremes. And we can at least argue, based on the 966-963 date for the Broken Obelisk, that this date is possibly correct, since it lies in the time frame 970-715. And when we consider that its authorship by any of the other Assyrian kings can be ruled out on other grounds, our diagram should convince the reader that the Obelisk must be dated ca 966-963.

c) We mention for the last time that the city of Parsa was overrun by the Arameans during the reign of the Assyrian king Adad-apla-iddina (ca 1069-1046), as detailed in the text of the Eclectic Chronicle. We leave it to the reader to locate those dates roughly on our timelines, and observe that only by following the revised history can we make sense of that text.

And with that we conclude this paper, save for the issue discussed in the appendix following.

Appendix:

Several times already we have encountered references to Dur-Kurigalzu in both Assyrian and Babylonian documents which do not lie within either of the two date ranges specified above in our 9th argument. In several of these instances we have paused to make an explanatory comment, as in the case of the supposed attack on Dur-Kurigalzu during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, where the actual text names the city of Parsa, not Dur-Kurigalzu. Other times, because we chose not to interrupt the existing train of thought, we have simply ignored the reference, just as we ignore erroneous comments by traditional historians when quoting them for other legitimate reasons. A case in point was Brinkman's comment in our previous paper, where on the bottom of page 21 he is quoted as saying

> In the next year, Tiglath-Pileser bypassed the Babylonian provincial strongholds around Lubdu and marched down the Tigris into northern Babylonia. His chariotry fought a victorious battle against the outflanked forces of Marduk-nadin-ahhe at a place which the Synchronistic History calls Gur-mar-ri-ti. Tiglath-Pileser then captured the principal cult centers of northern Babylonia: Dur-Kurigalzu, the Sippars of Shamash and Annunitum, Babylon, and Opis. At Babylon he burnt the palace of Marduk-nadin-ahhe, but retired without recapturing the purloined gods of Ekallate.

Needless to say we were not prepared to make an issue of that comment at that time. We address the subject here only because the assumed raid on "the principal cult centers of northern Babylonia: Dur-Kurigalzu, the Sippars of Shamash and Annunitum, Babylon, and Opis" is referenced frequently in scholarly literature, as in our earlier quotation of remarks made by Trevor Bryce (see page 24). It has also found its way into fabricated copies of the late annals of Tiglath-Pileser (see Grayson, Assyrian Rulers, text A.0.87.4, pp 38-45), based largely on three ancient documents which we discuss separately in the following pages.

The first and probably the most prominent source detailing this notorious "raid" is the Synchronistic History, sometimes called the Synchronistic Chronicle, where the attack is referenced in lines 14-24 of column two in that document (see Table 3 following).

Table 3: Synchronistic History reference to Tiglath-Pileser I's campaign against Marduk-nadin-ahhe

A14' Tiglath-pileser I, king of Assyria, and Marduk-nadin-ahhe, king of Karduniaš.
A15' Twice Tiglath-pileser drew up a battle array of chariots, as many as were by the Lower Zab,
A16' opposite Ahizûhina, and
A17' in the second year he defeated Marduk-nadin-ahhe at Gurmarritu, which is upstream from Akkad.
A18' Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar-ša-Šamaš
A19' Sippar-ša-Anunitu,
A20' Babylon, and Upû, the great urban centers,
A21' he captured together with their forts.
A22' At that time, Ugarsallu
A23' he plundered as far as Lubda.
A24' He ruled every part of Suhu as far as Rapiqu.

This is clearly the source of Brinkman's remarks, quoted on the previous page. If this were the only source of our knowledge of the alleged raid on Dur-Kurigalzu by Tiglath-Pileser I, we would terminate this discussion here. The reader familiar with our 3rd paper will recall that multiple times we accused that document of introducing incorrect names of kings and details of battles to support his pro-Assyrian bias. At least three times, when comparing the Synchronistic History and the data on a Babylonian document called the "Chronicle P", we witnessed the two documents describing the same event and attributing the actions to completely different kings in completely different eras. And each time we preferred the testimony of the Chronicle P. Brinkman provides a scathing commentary on the Synchronistic History on pages 51-56 of his *Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, interesting reading but unfortunately no longer available online.

Were the issue not so critical for the revised history we might stop there. But two tablet fragments, one on stone (BM 115693 = Assur 18438), and one on clay (VAT 9636), retrieved from Assur in the 19th century, contain this same basic information and deserve mention. It is not clear whether these fragment inscriptions incorporated the data from the Synchronistic

History, or the Synchronistic history from them, or whether there exists a vorlage from which all three derived their information. We have our opinion, mentioned below.

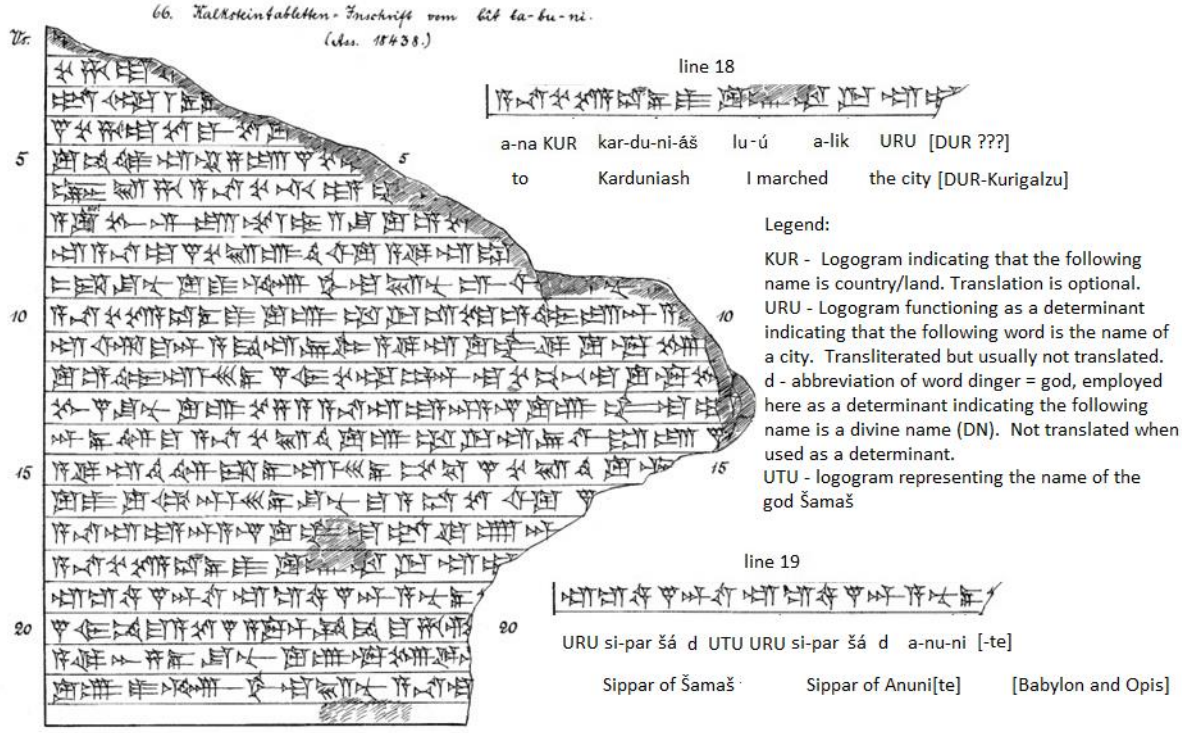
A line drawing of the stone tablet inscription (BM 115693 = Assur 18438) has been published as KAV 66 in the volume Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts. It is also translated by Luckenbill in his Ancient Records on pages 95-97 (sections 292-298), with the Babylonian raid confined to section 295.

The clay tablet inscription (VAT 9636) has been combined (by 20th century scholars) with the inscriptions on eight other tablet fragments to create a single composite text, a process similar to that described in our argument #1, the difference being the much larger number of tablets collated in this instance, and the lack of transparency in the process which produced the composite text. Fortunately the cuneiform line drawing of the resultant text has been published online as KAH 71 in the same *Keilschrifttexte* referenced above, and horizontal lines have been added to isolate the contributions made by each of the contributing tablet fragments. That composite text has also been translated by Luckenbill in his 1926 volume, with the Babylonian raid contained in his section 309. (See Luckenbill, Ancient Records, 97-100, sect. 299-312). Unfortunately there is no line drawing of the tablet VAT 9636 itself to permit an analysis by this author. We are entirely dependent on the judgment of the unknown compilers. That information might be published somewhere, but to date we have not found the source.

We can deal very quickly with this clay tablet inscription, since we have no knowledge about the tablet itself, and are completely at the mercy of the compilers as to its contents. The cuneiform text of the lines describing the Babylonian raid, as produced in the line drawing of the composite text, show no irregularities, and are treated here precisely as we treated the text of the Synchronous History. Both of these documents are clearly dependent for their knowledge of the Babylonian raid on some earlier document which presumably includes mention of the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser against Marduk-nadin-ahhe. We believe that the tablet VAT 9636 was the earlier of the two documents, and that the Synchronistic History has derived it's information from that tablet. It follows that the Synchronistic history and the tablet VAT 9636 are not two independent witnesses to the facts, but in fact are the equivalent of a single source document, leaving open the question of where the tablet VAT 9636 obtained its information. As the reader might already have guessed, we believe that our third document, the stone tablet BM 115693 = Assur 18438 is the vorlage we are searching for. This reduces the scope of this inquiry significantly. We spend the balance of this appendix commenting on this one document.

We begin by viewing the line drawing of the upper two-thirds of the obverse of Assur 18438. To facilitate discussion we have included a transliteration and translation of lines 18 and 19 on the tablet, and have provided a brief legend to explain parts of the transliteration to viewers not familiar with cuneiform texts. A commentary follows Figure 7 in point form.

Figure 7: Line drawing of the first 22 lines
on the Obverse of the stone tablet Assur 18438


66. Kalkstein tafelchen - Inschrift vom Bit ka-bu-ni.
(Ass. 18438.)
Vs.
line 18
a-na KUR kar-du-ni-áš lu-ú a-lik URU [DUR ???]
to Karduniash I marched the city [DUR-Kurigalzu]
Legend:
KUR - Logogram indicating that the following name is country/land. Translation is optional.
URU - Logogram functioning as a determinant indicating that the following word is the name of a city. Transliterated but usually not translated.
d - abbreviation of word dinger = god, employed here as a determinant indicating the following name is a divine name (DN). Not translated when used as a determinant.
UTU - logogram representing the name of the god Šamaš
line 19
URU si-par šá d UTU URU si-par šá d a-nu-ni [-te]
Sippar of Šamaš Sippar of Anuni[te] [Babylon and Opis]

a) Of the three tablets examined in this paper, this stone tablet is certainly the oldest. It may in fact be part of the original text of these annals. Rarely if ever did Assyrian scribes copy an existing document using stone. Clay was the medium of choice.

b) The tablet is clearly broken, and the right ends of most lines are missing, including the ends of lines 18 and 19, the critical section containing the names of the cities attacked and destroyed by Tiglath-Pileser I.

c) We have omitted the translation of any other lines since we have absolutely no quarrel with them. But because we are interested in Luckenbill's treatment of this document we include part of his translation on page 96 of his *Ancient Records*, specifically the whole of his section 295.

> At the command of [Assur and Urta] <u>against Karduniash (Babylonia) I marched. The city of [Dur-Kurigalzu], Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Annunitum, [Babylon and Opis,]</u> which is on the other (far) side of the Tigris, cities . . . . . together with their fortresses I captured; multitudes of [them I slew,] countless booty of theirs [I carried off. The palaces] of Babylon, belonging to Marduk-nadin-ahi [king of Karduniash], I captured. With fire I burned them.

d) We have underlined the portion of Luckenbill's translation that is based on lines 18 and 19. Note that he has supplied the name [Dur-Kurigalzu] at the end of line 18 and the names [Babylon and Opis] at the end of line 19. Where he does conjecture what the ending of a line might be he simply supplies that

reading in square brackets. Where he has no idea what the reading might be he leaves a trail of dots. Only once do the dots appear in the quoted section. We know the reason. Luckenbill, along with every other Assyriologist, living or dead, was well aware of the contents of the Synchronistic History, and probably also of the clay tablet VAT 9636. Assuming that those texts are reliable, the lacunae at the ends of the lines 18 and 19 of Assur 18438 are easily supplied.

e) In the case of the name Dur-Kurigalzu he uses half-brackets, indicating greater certainty that the supplied text is correct, probably because he can actually read the beginning of the name. (We have replaced his half-brackets with full ones only because our word processor font does not include the former.) Clearly Luckenbill believes that the partial sign at the end of line 18 is the beginning of the cuneiform sign BÀD, which among other possible values, represents the Assyrian word "Dur", meaning fortress. It is the sign typically used at the beginning of city names that could be translated "fortress of", of which Dur-Kurigalzu is but one example.

f) It is not only scholars of the 20th and 21st centuries who would know how to "fill in the blanks" in Assur 18438. As we have previously explained, scribes of the 8th and 7th centuries BC who were in possession of the stone tablet would know which Babylonian towns possessed "fortresses" and which did not. And the paramount fortress town in the 8th and 7th centuries was Dur-Kurigalzu, still very much active, assuming of course the accuracy of our revised history. Many of these 8th century scribes may well have been unaware that this prominent fortified city was not constructed until the middle of the 10th century and that substituting the name of Dur-Kurigalzu at the end of line 18, in a document describing a campaign conducted by the late 12th/early 11th century king Tiglath-Pileser I, would be anachronistic. They would thus be inclined to include the name Dur-Kurigalzu in their clay tablet copy of the stone tablet. Their conviction would be intensified knowing that the final cuneiform sign on line 18 of the document should probably be transliterated as BÀD. Not wanting to leave the "blanks" in their copy of the stone tablet, they would instinctively insert the name Dur-Kurigalzu, as Luckenbill has done ca 2700 years later. *This stone tablet was literally "an accident waiting to happen".* We do not doubt for a minute that multiple other tablets exist with the name Kurigalzu inserted in lieu of the missing name on line 18.

g) The reader should by now know two things.

On the one hand an unknown scribe, probably living in the latter part of the 8th century, appears to have come into possession of the stone tablet Assur 18438 and copied it, inserting the names "Dur-Kurigalzu" and "Babylon and Opis" in the process. This copied document, possibly but not certainly the clay tablet VAT 9636, was subsequently copied by other scribes describing the same invasion. This would include the author of the Synchronous History. While it is possible that the authors of the Synchronous History and other documents gleaned their information by reading Assur 18438 directly, and independently determining the same three city names, we believe otherwise, based on one fact. While we can understand the insertion of the name Dur-Kurigalzu at the end of line 18, and the inclusion of the name of Babylon at the end of line 19, we cannot comprehend how two different scribes would independently come up with the name Opis to accompany the name of Babylon. Assuming that Opis was at the time a more prominent city than in later times, it was certainly never as prominent a city as Der, a city we

encountered near the beginning of our last paper when we were describing Adad-Nirari II's campaign against Shamash-mudammiq. Today the location of the ancient city of Opis is unknown, the subject of considerable speculation among scholars, some of whom locate it west of the Tigris. It was almost certainly not the name present at the end of line 19 on the original stone tablet. One ancient scribe might speculatively add that name along with Babylon, but not two scribes working independently. We assume, therefore, that the author of the Synchronistic Chronicle has gleaned his information from the clay tablet VAT 9636 or whatever document was copied by the creator of VAT 9636.

On the other hand it should be clear that the insertion of the name Dur-Kurigalzu would likely have resulted regardless of which scribe was copying the stone tablet. But that does not imply that they were correct, and that the name was actually in that position when the tablet was intact. After all, Dur-Kurigalzu is not the only prominent Babylonian town with a name beginning with the cuneiform sign BÀD. In fact, there existed several in the days of Tiglath-Pileser I and one in particular that is a much better choice than Dur-Kurigalzu, whether from the point of view of the traditional or the revised histories.

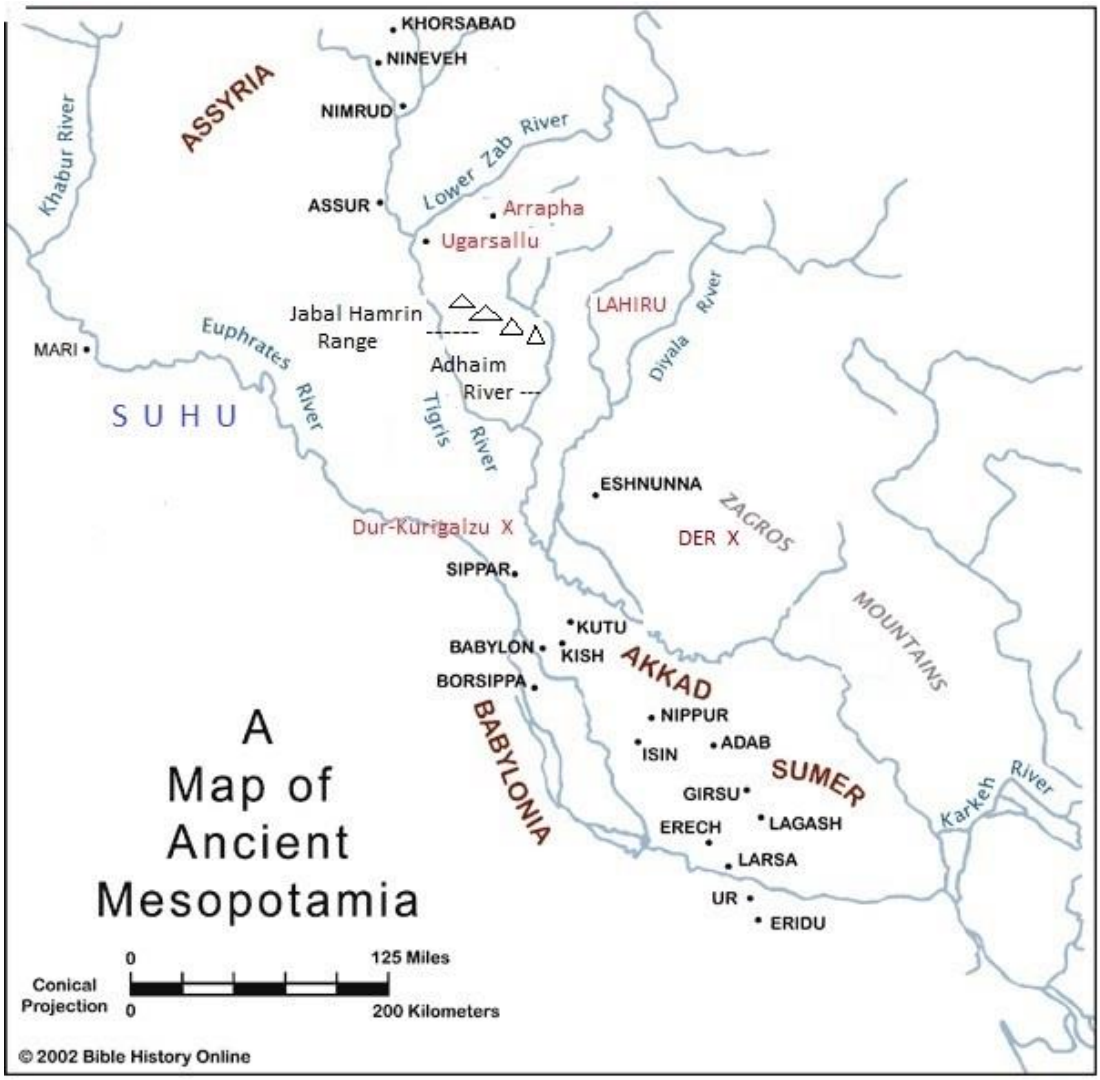
h) Before we inform the reader what name should actually be inserted at the end of line 18 we should stress the fact that we do not actually care whether or not the insertions made elsewhere on the document are correct. Our interest lies solely in the name Dur-Kurigalzu at the end of line 18. We have not the slightest doubt that Tiglath-Pileser I launched a campaign against Marduk-nadin-ahhe and destroyed multiple towns including the two Sippars, Babylon and some city east of the Tigris. We object to one thing only, namely, the assumed fact that he attacked and burnt the non-existent fortress town of Dur-Kurigalzu. Tiglath-Pileser I was a powerful king; but he was not a magician.

i) We have already argued the fact that a scribe working in the late 8th century, and possibly even in the early 7th century, would almost certainly supply the name Dur-Kurigalzu to their copy of the stone tablet Assur 18438. But what about the creator of the stone tablet itself, which document we assume was created shortly after the death of Tiglath-Pileser in 1076 BC. According to our revised timeline there did not then exist a fortress city named Dur-Kurigalzu, but there were two others whose names are strong candidates for inclusion at the end of line 18. One was the aforemention city of Der, a prominent city east of the Tigris, which we believe was actually present at the end of line 19. The other, the favorite of this author, was the city of Borsippa.

In the ancient world the two cities Borsippa and Babylon were closely assossiated. Not only were they located only ca 18 km apart, and near the Euphrates where both would have been weakened by decades of Aramean attacks from the western desert region. But they were also bonded together by religious ties, since Babylon was the center of worship of the god Marduk, while Borsippa was the home of the temple of Nabu, son of Marduk. Processions of the two gods took place yearly between the two cities, save for times of crisis. Sippar of Shamash and Sippar of Anunitum, the twin sister cities mentioned on the document Assur 18438, were located approximately 50 km north of Babylon, also on

the east bank of the Euphrates. The two Sippars, Babylon, and Borsippa had very much in common. In particular they faced the same threat of invasion from without. And thus all three cities became fortress cities, with large populations, multitudes seeking shelter inside a walled city. It is not at all surprising that when Tiglath-Pileser I launched an attack on Karduniash, late in his reign, these three cities were the only ones attacked, save for the single city lying east of the Tigris. Because of their location the army must have originated in Assur, travelled down the east side of the Tigris, as described by Brinkman earlier, where they attacked the city of Der (or less likely Opis), whence the army journied west, across the Tigris to the vicinity of the Sippars, then along the Euphrates to Babylon and Borsippa. Following the sack and burning of Babylon, Tiglath-Pileser I would travel northward along the Euphrates to the region of Suhu, then cross country in Assyrian territory to Ashur. We include below in Figure 8 a map, copied from our last paper, and modified slightly to help the reader visualize what is happening.

Figure 8: Map of Karduniash showing locations of Sippar, Babylon, and Borsippa.



When we argued above that Borsippa should be included at the end of line 18, it follows that we are aware that the name of that city must begin with the cuneiform sign BÀD. The typical orthography for the name Borsippa in Assyrian texts is composed of five logograms BÀD-SI-AB-BA-KI. The BÀD sign may not be reflected in the final translation of the name, but it is present in the cuneiform writing. Interestingly, the city of Der remains a remote possibility for inclusion at the end of line 18, since its cuneiform spelling is BÀD-DINGER-KI, but the name is ruled out both because of its length (or rather its lack of length) and because line 19 required any city east of the Tigris to be included there. And speaking of the length of the name we should note that scholars are concerned that the name supplied at the end of line 18 contain a sufficient number of cuneiform signs to fill the available space. Dur-ku-ri-gal-zu fits the bill, but so also does BÀD-SI-AB-BA-KI. Unfortunately there did not exist a city named Dur-Kurigalzu in the early 11th century.

In a sense we could close this appendix here, since we have finished arguing our case, hopefully successfully. But there does exist one piece of unfinished business related to the city of Dur-Kurigalzu. In 1957-58 the German scholar Ernst Weidner, the same individual who collated the two tablets mentioned in our argument 1 at the beginning of this paper, published yet another paper detailing the procedure by which he had just finished fabricating yet another document, this time a comprehensive version of the late annals of Tiglath-Pileser I. In this instance he merged into a single document the inscriptions on over twenty clay tablets, three stone tablets and one clay cylinder. A summary of the documents used, and a full translation of the resultant document, in German, was published in an article entitled "*Die Feldzuge und Bauten Tiglatpilesers I*" in the journal *Archiv fur Orientforschung* 18 Bd (1957-58), pp. 342-360. Each of the contributing inscriptions was assigned a letter name, save for a few sources which were themselves composite texts pieced together from yet more contributing inscriptions. We are not concerned here with much of the content of that article, only with the fact that two of Weidner's source documents were the clay tablet VAT 9636 (his source "H") and the stone tablet Assur 18438 (his source "O"). Needless to say, if anyone were to read line 45 in the resultant document, he/she would discover yet another reference to Tiglath-Pileser I attacking the city of Dur-Kurigalzu, but this time the document being read is not a tablet fragment inscription, but supposedly a full-blown text, purporting to be the late annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, as if those annals do exist on a single set of tablets. In this instance there are no line drawings of the source documents as there were in our argument 1, providing opportunity for a critic to at least partially check the procedure being followed. We are totally at the mercy of the compiler, unable to discern what material on the source documents was used and what was not, nor what phrases were supplied to give coherence to the final document. The results could conceivably be as damaging as was the result of the collation process applied to the two tablets in our argument 1. Let the reader beware.

Paper #6 Arguments that the 10th/9th century kings of the "dynasty of E" were vassals of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Dynasty. (Arguments 4 & 5: The Campaigns of Tukulti-Ninurta II and The Kin-Group of Arad-Ea

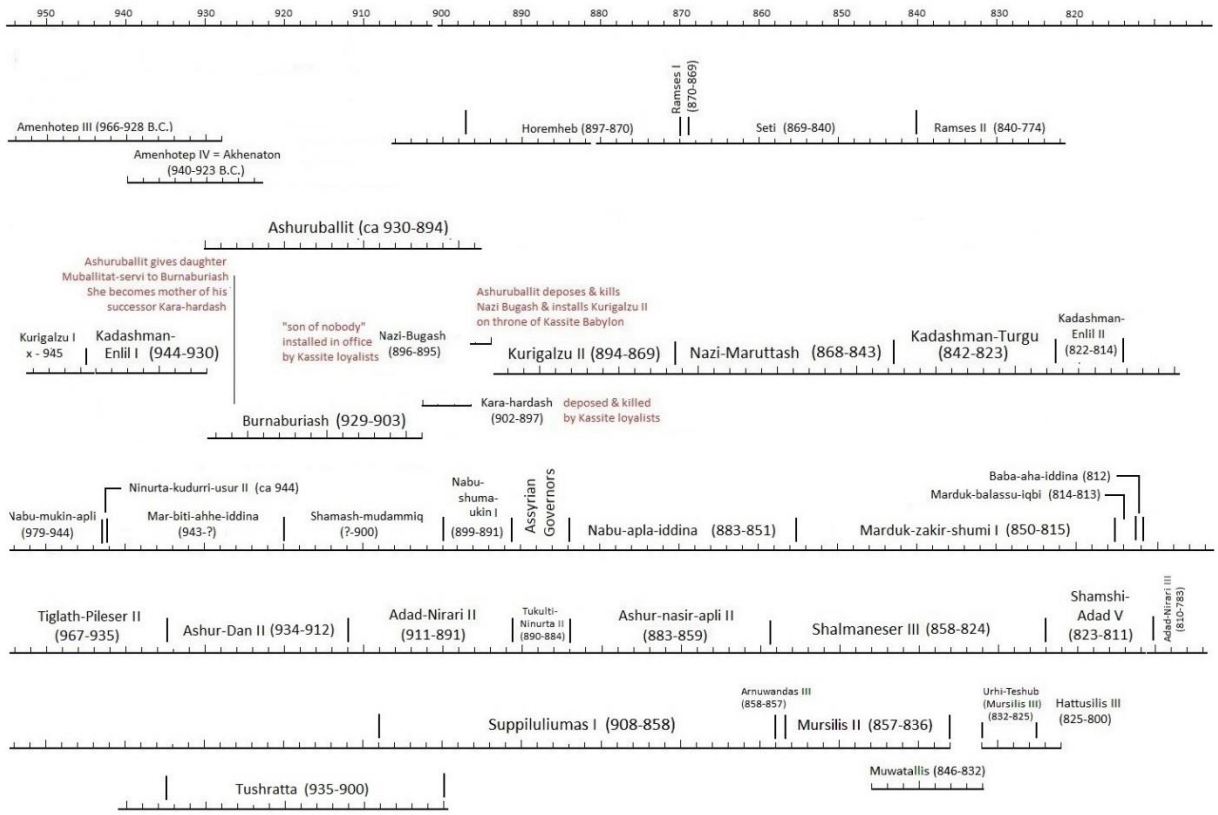
Argument #4: The Campaigns of Tukulti-Ninurta II

As the title of this paper suggests, we are primarily interested here in the military campaigns of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884), with emphasis on his interaction with his southern neighbor Karduniash/Babylonia. Though some discussion on this topic can be found in our papers #1 and #2, we examine the subject again, in part because many of our readers may be unfamiliar with our earlier remarks, but moreso because we want to set the brief reign of this king in a broader context. In order to do the latter we backtrack slightly and briefly mention the Assyria/Karduniash conflicts which immediately preceded his reign.

In our previous paper we discussed the fact that Adad-Nirari II, the father of Tukulti-Ninurta II, fought two battles against the Babylonians, the first against the Kassite vassal king Shamash-mudammiq (ca 920-900) in the year 902 BC, the second against that king's successor Nabu-shuma-ukin I (899-891 BC) in 894 BC. The first of these campaign was undertaken in order to prepare the Assyrian army for an upcoming series of battles against Hanigalbat. The second appears to have been motivated by an uprising in Karduniash which deposed and murdered the existing Kassite sovereign Kara-Hardash, paternal grandson of Burnaburiash II, and maternal grandson of Ashuruballit, an associate king of Adad-Nirari II. Details of these two campaigns were reviewed briefly at the beginning of our 6th paper. What we did not discuss in that 6th paper was the fact that Adad-Nirari II fought one more time with Karduniash, a battle that must have taken place only months before his death in 891 BC. That conflict is described briefly in a document called the Chronicle P, the source of much of our knowledge about happenings in this early 9th century time frame.

Before we look at the Chronicle P one last time we pause to recommend to readers new to this series that they download and print off the timeline shown in our Figure 1 on the following page. It will prove to be most helpful in understanding the remarks which follow. And for those same readers, newly introduced to this series of articles, we do recommend the reading of our papers #1 and #2, where many of the characters featured in this paper make their first appearance. There, for the first time, we determined that the Chronicle P is referencing the 9th century, not the middle of the 14th century as believed by scholars of the traditional history. And there, for the first time, we determined that an associate king of Assyria named Ashuruballit was a contemporary of the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari II.

Figure 1: Timeline Showing the Reigns of the mid-10th/9th century kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, Kassite Babylonia, and the early kings of the Babylonian composite "dynasty of E". (duplicate of Figure 2 on page 3 of Paper #4)



The Chronicle P

This remarkable document, authored by an unknown Babylonian scribe late in the 8th century BC, is entirely concerned with happenings in Karduniash from the beginning years of the 9th century to the end of the 1st quarter of the 8th. What is equally as important as the dates involved is the fact that this scribe seems to have had access to original documents, which he copied faithfully, unlike many Assyrian scribes working in the same time frame, who were busy copying ancient documents, often themselves copies, and often replete with errors, some accidentally introduced, others intentionally inserted to make the text conform to a preconceived view of history. One of our objectives in reviewing the Chronicle P yet again is to buttress our previous argument concerning its overall reliability. It will also serve to introduce a few features omitted from our previous discussion. We review all four columns, one column at a time.

Column 1:

Table 1: Translation of Column 1 of the Chronicle P

Lacuna
2' [...] king of Karduniaš and [...]
3' king of Assyria between them made a treaty and together they fixed the boundary.
4' [...] he rebuilt and restored it.

5' Kadašman-harbe, son of Karaindaš, son of Muballitat-serua,
6' the daughter of Aššur-uballit, king of Assyria, ordered the overthrow of the Suteans
7' from the east to west, and annihilated their extensive forces.
8' He reinforced the fortresses in Mount Šaršar. He dug wells and
9' settled people on fertile lands to strengthen the guard. Afterwards
10' the Kassite people rebelled against him and killed him. Šuzigaš, a Kassite,
11' the son of a nobody, they appointed as sovereign over them. Aššur-uballit,
12' king of Assyria, marched to Karduniaš, to avenge Kadašman-harbe, his daughter's son, and
13' Šuzigaš, the Kassite,
14' he killed. Aššur-uballit put Kurigalzu, son of Kadašman-harbe, on his father's throne.

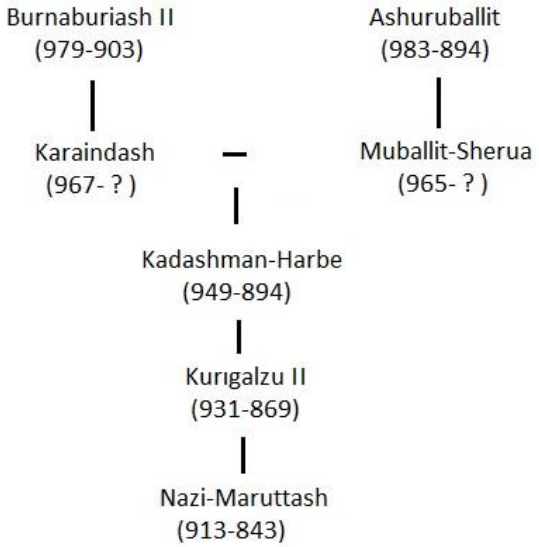
The Chronicle P begins (lines 2-4) with an account of a treaty forged between an unnamed king of Karduniash and an unnamed king of Assyria, presumably the result of negotiations or military action intended to establish boundaries between the two nations, a frequent cause of conflict. All we can say about this unknown situation is that it precedes the 894 battle between Adad-Nirari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin, which also resulted in a peace treaty (see paper #4). The Chronicler is careful to supply a horizontal line separating incidents which occurred in different time frames. And he is careful to preserve a chronological ordering of the events he describes, always moving forward in time.

The balance of the first column (lines 4-14) is clearly a description of a single event which, if we are correct, carries over into the second column. Apparently a king named Ashuruballit has accompanied an Assyrian army into Karduniash/Babylonia in order to avenge the death of a grandson. This grandson, named Kadašman-harbe (Kara-hardash in a parallel version in the *Synchronistic History*), was the offspring of a marital union between Ashuruballit's daughter Muballitat-serua and a Kassite prince named Karaindash, the son of the Kassite king Burnaburiash II. A short time prior Kadašman-harbe had inherited the Kassite throne at the death of his grandfather Burnaburiash II, which implies of course that Burnaburiash had outlived his son Karaindash. It should be pointed out that the name of Burnaburiash does not occur in the Chronicle P, but is supplied from the aforementioned parallel version of the same

incident. The *Synchronistic History*, not noted for its reliability, is in this instance almost certainly correct.

Apparently a segment of the Kassite population of Karduniash (including the Kassite army if the Synchronistic History is to be believed) objected to the grandson of an Assyrian king inheriting the Kassite throne, and rebelled, killing Kadašman-harbe, and replacing him with a surrogate named Šuzigaš (Nazi-bugash in the parallel version), a Kassite with little, if any, pedigree. Thus the intrusion of Ashuruballit, accompanied by an Assyrian army, who prompty had the pretender killed, and installed as king a son of Kadašman-harbe named Kurigalzu, the second Kassite king bearing this name. The genealogy of both great-grandfathers of Kurigalzu (II) is shown below in Figure 2. Birth and death dates have been added on the assumption that in royal families males married at around age 17 with first child at age 18 while females married around age 15 with first child at age 16. In this scenario Ashuruballit lived into his late 80"s, Kurigalzu II was 37 when he became king, and his son Nazi-Maruttash was 22 when he assumed control of the army in 891. These dates are reasonably correct.

Figure 2: The Ashuruballit connection to the Kassite family of Burnaburiash II according to the Chronicle P. Copied from page 23 of our Paper #1.



Column 2:

Table 2: Translation of Column 2 of the Chronicle P

1' Too broken
2' Too broken
3' upon them [...] and a shout/complaint [...]
4' The enemy seized him. Together [...] to the sword
5' he put all of them, and he did not leave a soul. Those who were fallen,
6' they put in distress. They colored the midst of the rolling sea with their blood.
7' They sent out their troops, fought zealously, and achieved victory.
8' They subdued the enemy troops. He gathered the possessions of the vast enemy and
9' made piles of them. Again the warriors said:
10' "We did not know, Kurigalzu, that you had conquered all peoples.
11' We had no rival among people. Now you [*have overcome us*$^{??}$]
12' We have set out, sought the place where you are and brought gifts.
13' We have helped you conquer [...]" Again he [...]
14' [...] them and [...]

The 14 lines of the second column are variously treated by scholars of the traditional history, and are generally regarded as text inserted from some other document. We believe otherwise, and suggest that the entire column contains the sequel to the first column induction of Kurigalzu. Apparently, soon after his "crowning", Kurigalzu sought out the whereabouts of those who had very recently deposed and killed his father Kadašman-harbe, and he avenged his father's death by slaughtering the instigators of the coup. By the time we get to the beginning of the third column we are clearly in a new section.

Column 3:

Verses 1-22 of the third column are concerned with a single prolonged incident, reasonably clear notwithstanding the badly damaged initial verses which make accurate translation all but impossible. It appears that an Elamite king named Hurbatila, otherwise unknown, has invaded Babylon, probably not long after Kurigalzu's retributory attack on the Kassite loyalists. Attempting to capitalize on the turmoil in Karduniash, Hurbatila opportunistically raided the country, and quickly exited with pillage, avoiding a full scale conflict, though some damage to Babylon and Borsippa seems to be alluded to in verse 9. A war of words ensued between the two countries, ending in the Elamite issuing a verbal challenge to Kurigalzu, whence the neophyte Kassite king engaged him in battle near the city of Dur-Šulgi, location unknown, but presumably east of the Tigris and near the border between Elam and Karduniash. Here Kurigalzu defeated and captured Hurbatila, and followed up his victory by invading and receiving the tribute of "all of Elam".

Table 3: Translation of Column 3, Lines 10-24 of the Chronicle P

1' [...]
2' N thousand [...]
3' N thousand [...]
4' one thousand piebald horses their gift [...]
5' He seized the spy and brought the knight [...]
6' He set a watch and [...]
7' the return, your path. Silver, gold, precious stones, [...]
8' I brought.
9' I [...] Babylon and Borsippa, upon/over me [...]
10' Hurbatila, king of Elam, wrote to Kurigalzu:
11' "Come! At Dur-Šulgi, I and you,
12' let us do battle together!" Kurigalzu heard [...]
13' He went to conquer Elam and Hurbatila,
14' king of Elam, did battle against him at Dur-Šulgi.
15' Hurbatila retreated before him and Kurigalzu brought about their defeat.
16' He captured the king of Elam. All of Elam [...]
17' Bowing down, Hurbatila, king of Elam, said:
18' "I know, king Kurigalzu, that this [...]
19' with the kings of all lands I have brought the tribute of Elam."
20' He went to conquer Adad-nirari, king of Assyria.
21' He did battle against him at Sugaga, which is on the Tigris, and brought about his defeat.
22' He slaughtered his soldiers and captured his officers.

23' Nazi-maruttaš, son of [...]
24' king of Assyria in [...].
Lacuna

The historicity of this Elamite campaign has never been in doubt. In the book "*Who's Who in the Ancient Near East*" by Gwendolyn Leick we read (s.v. Hurbatila) that "An inscription by king Kurigalzu II on a statue that he put up at Susa marks him as the 'tyrant of Susa and Elam', and quoting from the book "*Elam: Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*" authored by Elizabeth Carter and Matthew Stolper, on page 35 we read

> The late Babylonian text called "Chronicle P" records that the Babylonian king Kurigalzu II (1132 (sic) - 1308 B.C.) fought an otherwise unknown Hurbatila, entitled "king of Elammat," defeated him, and conquered Elam. Votive inscriptions of Kurigalzu also record his conquest of Susa, Elam, and Marhashi. Dedicatory texts of Kurigalzu have been found at Susa itself. The extent and duration of Kassite

> domination over Elam are unknown. Kassite control of Susiana seems to have been only a brief episode, followed quickly by the rise of the Middle Elamite state.

Without a break the column 3 text (lines 20-22) tells us that following his Elamite conquest Kurigalzu "went to conquer Adad-nirari, king of Assyria," at Sugaga on the Tigris, where he "slaughtered his soldiers and captured his officers". The lack of a sectional line surprises us, and can only be explained on the assumption that this incident took place immediately upon the return of Kurigalzu from Elam, and was perceived by the Chronicle P author as part of the larger campaign. That assumption is confirmed by the timeline provided in our Figure 1. Kurigalzu was confirmed in office in 894 and Adad-Nirari II died sometime during the year 891 BC. In the interim we must fit Kurigalzu's retributive attack(s) on the instigators of the coup that witnessed the death of his father; the Elamite campaign, which appears to have been far more extensive than hinted at in the column 3 description; and the battle at Sugaga against Adad-Nirari II. The latter must be dated extremely late in the reign of Adad-Nirari, probably in 892 BC, a year before the death of the Assyrian king. In the Synchronistic History this battle is recorded as a contest over "boundary lines" between the two nations, and we surmise that while Kurigalzu was busy fighting in Elam, Adad-nirari II was actively extending his southern border with Karduniash, this in spite of the peace treaty forged two years earlier. The Synchronistic History claims victory for the Assyrians; the Chronicle P records a resounding victory for Kurigalzu II. We continue to stand by the accuracy of the Chronicle P.

The next battle recounted by the Chronicle P, introduced in lines 23 and 24 of the third column, preceded by a sectional divider, took place in 891 BC, the year that Adad-Nirari II died, which would be the accession year of his son and successor Tukulti-Ninurta II. All that remains of the introduction to the battle is the name of Nazi-Maruttash, introduced as "the son of [Kurigalzu (II)]" and fact that he is fighting against an unnamed "king of Assyria". In our interpretation of the Chronicle the description of this battle extends into the fourth column as far as line 13, where a sectional line indicates that this vignette ends. It is from that 4th column text that we determine that the opponent of Nazi-Maruttash was Tukulti-Ninurta II. We will return in a moment to discuss this battle, which at long last brings us into the time of Tukulti-Ninurta II, the main subject of this section of our paper. But first we must return momentarily to the time of Adad-Nirari II. As it turns out, the battle described in 3:22-4:13 of the Chronicle P is a sequel to another battle between Assyria and Karduniash, one not included in our Chronicle P. We need to interrupt our Chronicle P narrative to put both battles in their rightful context.

Though our purpose in this paper is to describe the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta from the point of view of the Chronicle P, we have several times already made reference to the Synchronistic History, if only to clarify several points of interest. For the most part we finished with our analysis of the Synchronistic History in papers #1 and #2. But there is one battle recorded in the online edition of that document that remains of interest to this paper, primarily because we do not believe that it was originally a part of that "History". If the reader were to access the online version of the Synchronistic History he/she would discover that this is a composite document, where the inscriptions on three different tablets have been merged into a single fabricated text by 20th century scholars. The document has been "color-coded" to reflect the three sources, and a perusal of the document will quickly inform the reader that the small "fragment C" tablet (color-coded blue) consisted of less than twenty lines of text, which the editors have interspersed randomly throughout the four columns of the composite text. We are here concerned only with the eight lines positioned at the end of column one and labelled as lines C24'- C31', copied below in our Table 4.

Table 4 – Border skirmish between Nazi-Marrutash and Adad-Nirari II, around the year 891 BC. (Text from a tablet fragment assumed to belong to the Synchronistic History and added to column one of that document)

C24' Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, and Nazi-Marrutaš, king of Karduniaš,
C25' fought with one another at Kar-Ištar of Ugarsallu.
C26' Adad-nirari brought about the total defeat of Nazi-Marrutaš and
C27' conquered him. He took away from him his camp and his standards.
C28' As for this very boundary-line, they fixed a division of
C29' their confines from Pilasqu,
C30' which is on the other side of the Tigris, and Arman of Ugarsallu
C31' as far as Lullume.

Because we have been unable, thus far, to determine when, where, and by whom this tablet was analysed and inserted piecemeal into the original Synchronistic History, we cannot comment with any certainty on its likely authenticity, but judging from the content of all the blue coded text it appears that this fragment may well have originated from a Babylonian source and its content may actually reflect the 9th and 8th century context assumed by our revised chronology. Thus, in our opinion, the lines quoted in our Table 4 may be taken at face value, in which case they are describing a military conflict between the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II and Nazi-Maruttash, the latter leading a Kassite army on behalf of his father Kurigalzu II. This battle likely took place early in the year 891 B.C., only months before the death of Adad-Nirari II. Nazi-Maruttash would be 22 years old, assuming the accuracy of our Table 2. The claim that the Assyrians were victorious is clearly exaggerated, since, as noted by various authorities, including Brinkmnan, the boundaries appear to have been moved in favor of Karduniash. Within a few months, if not mere weeks, Adad-Nirari II is dead, and his son and successor Tukulti-Ninurta II is in control of the Assyrian army. If we are correct, the new Assyrian king immediately resumed the unresolved conflict over border issues, and he and Nazi-Maruttash engaged in battle, a sequel to the one his father had fought with this same Nazi-Maruttash. This time the Assyrians were victorious. It is this second battle that is described in lines 3:22-4:13 of the Chronicle P, to which we now divert our attention.

Column 4:

We have previously commented extensively on the last two lines in column 3 and the whole of column four. The interested reader can find the synopsis on pages 2-10 of our paper #2. Our interest here is to add commentary not included in those pages. The details of the battle and its aftermath are rather straightforward, and the previous pages of this paper have helped to put this narrative in its proper historical context.

Table 5: Translation of Column 4, Lines 1-24 of the Chronicle P

1' [...]
2' [...] he threw iron bands and [...]
3' [...] Tukulti-Ninurta returned to Babylon and
4' brought [...] near. He destroyed the wall of Babylon and put the Babylonians to the sword.
5' He took out the property of the Esagila and Babylon amid the booty. The statue of the great lord Marduk
6' he removed from his dwelling-place and sent him to Assyria.
7' He put his governors in Karduniaš. For seven years, Tukulti-Ninurta
8' controlled Karduniaš. After the Akkadian officers of Karduniaš had rebelled and
9' put Adad-šuma-ušur on his father's throne,
10' Aššur-nasir-apli, son of that Tukulti-Ninurta who had carried criminal designs against Babylon, and the officers of Assyria rebelled against Tukulti-Ninurta,
11' removed him from the throne, shut him up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and killed him.
12' For sixty[?]-six (until the time of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur), Bel stayed in Assyria, in the time of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, Bel
13' went to Babylon.

14' At the time of Enlil-nadin-šumi, the king,[5] Kiden-Hutran, king of Elam, attacked.
15' He went into action against Nippur and scattered its people. Der and Edimgalkalamma
16' he destroyed, carried off its people, drove them away and eliminated the suzerainty of Enlil-nadin-šumi, the king.

17' At the time of Adad-šuma-iddina,[6] Kiten-Hutran returned and attacked Akkad a second time.
18' [...] he destroyed Isin, crossed the Tigris, all of
19' [...] Maradda. A terrible defeat of an extensive people
20' he brought about. [...] and with oxen [...]
21' [...] he removed to wasteland [...]
22' [...]

23' [...] he dominated [...]
24' Too broken
Lacuna

The battle described in column 4 takes place in 891 BC, immediately following the death of Adad-Nirari II, thus in the accession year of Tukulti-Ninurta II. The details accord perfectly with what we know about the reign of this Assyrian king, so much so that we marvel at the unanimous opinion of scholars of the traditional history who place this battle in the 13th century BC, in the days of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). Of course we know the reason. The

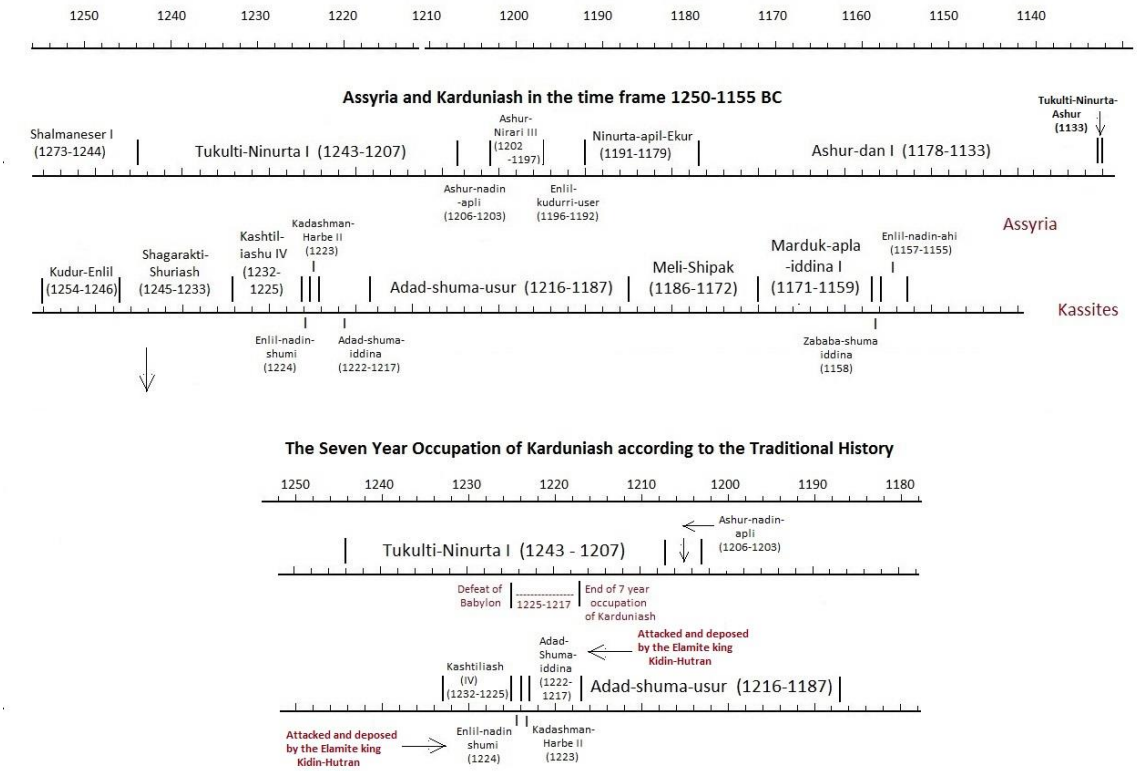
traditional history had no other choice but to identify the Assyrian king in question as Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). The only alternative, Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884), was out of the question for one obvious reason. In the traditional history the reign of Kashtiliash IV (their choice for the opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta in column four, even though he is not mentioned in the narrative), is dated 1232—1225 BC. This king could not possibly have been a participant in a battle with a 9th century Tukulti-Ninurta II, even if the evidence for that identification was overwhelming. As we stated on pages 6 & 7 in our 4th paper:

> Interpreting the Chronicle P at face value immediately causes the timelines of Babylonia, Hatti, and Egypt to implode. 14th-12th century events must move to the 10th-8th centuries. Tens of thousands of books and journal articles become instantly obsolete, careers and reputations are destroyed, damaged, or at minimum depreciated, not to mention the scores of bruised egos in the academic world.

In the opinion of this author the only details in column four which raise questions about dating the narrative are the mention of Adad-shuma-usur in line 9 and the mention of Ninurta-Tukulti-Asher in line 12. We expend a few pages discussing these two names, adding to what has already been mentioned in our paper #2. But our comments regarding these two names need to be made with the hypothetical 13th century timeline of the battle clearly in view. To date, while we have spent considerable time arguing for our 10th century placement of the events in column four of the Chronicle P, we have failed to adequately discuss the point of view of adherents of the traditional history. We remedy that deficiency here by adding our Figure 3 to the following page. The upper pair of timelines in the figure shows the sequence of Assyrian and Kassite kings who ruled during the time frame 1250-1155 BC, i.e. during the hypothetical final century of Kassite rule in Karduniash. The bottom of the chart merely isolates the portion of those timelines which encompass the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, providing space on which to diagram the assumed position of the "seven year occupation of Karduniash", and add details relevant to our discussion. Our objective, of course, is to discount the viability of this positioning of the "occupation".

There are multiple objections to dating the invasion and occupation of Karduniash in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, many of which have already been mentioned in earlier papers. If they are mentioned again here, that mention will be brief, and is intended only to provide new readers to this revised Babylonian history a more complete perspective. We begin with the two names alluded to earlier, namely 1) the Babylonian prince named Adad-shuma-usur who, according to lines 8 and 9 of column 4, was elected to replace his royal father at the instigation of "Akkadian officers of Karduniash", this during a rebellion that took place seven years after Tukulti-Ninurta overran Karduniash, and 2) the Assyrian "king" named Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur, who, according to lines 12 and 13, returned the pilfered statue of Marduk to Babylon precisely "sixty?-six" years after its removal by Tukulti-Ninurta.

Figure 3: The seven-year Assyrian occupation of Karduniash in the days of Tukulti-Ninurta I (as understood by adherents of the traditional history)



Adad-shuma-usur

This name in this position in Figure 3 is clearly one of the most compelling arguments favoring the accuracy of the 13th century dating of the invasion and occupation of Karduniash by Tukulti-Ninurta I. As diagrammed, that occupation lasted from 1225-1217 BC, and the accession year of the Kassite king Adad-shuma-usur is dated precisely to the year 1217, the year of death of his predecessor Adad-shuma-iddina (1222-1217). What is equally compelling is the fact that the invasion of Karduniash coincided with the death of a Kassite king named Kashtiliash (IV), whose demise during the attack on Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta I is supposedly independently confirmed via the content of a lengthy Assyrian document entitled the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic. These two dates bracket the beginning and ending of the seven year occupation so perfectly, that we are unable to argue that they arise merely by chance. In fact, we argue precisely the opposite. The fact that the reign of the Kassite king Adad-shuma-usur began precisely at the end of the occupation of Karduniash is definitely not a coincidence. Chance had nothing to do with it. The Chronicle P was purchased on the antiquities market in the latter years of the 19th century. Immediately scholars recognized, from the fourth column of that inscription, that the beginning of the reign of a king named Adad-shuma-usur must begin at the end of a seven year

occupation of Karduniash in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Additionally, they knew that Tukulti-Ninurta I ruled sometime in the 13th century, contemporary with the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty of kings of Babylon, and there did exist a Kassite king by the name Adad-shuma-usur, whose absolute dates were not yet precisely determined, but whose reign could conceivably overlap that of Tukulti-Ninurta I. He was also the only other known Babylonian king bearing that name. Ergo, at long last scholars had found a long sought for and very precise synchronism, The absolute dates for the Kassite kings at that time in history were in flux, and this synchronism provided a much needed means by which to assign absolute dates not only to that 3rd dynasty of Babylon, but also to both prior and subsequent Babylonian dynasties as well. What they needed was some way of positioning the "seven year occupation" within the 36 year long reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Had they followed the wording of the fourth column closely, they might have positioned the occupation at the very end of that king's reign, since the Chronicle P clearly states that Tukulti-Ninurta was assassinated very soon following the rebellion that put Adad-shuma-usur on the throne in Babylon. That, at least, is the opinion of this author. The reader is encouraged to read again the relevant lines of the fourth column, this time following Grayson's translation of the Chronicle P:

7	. . . . . For seven years, Tukulti-ninurta Karduniash
8	controlled. After the Akkadian officers of Karduniash had rebelled and
9	Adad-shuma-usur on his father's throne put, against Tukulti-ninurta, who criminal designs on Babylon
10	had carried out - him , Assur-na-sir-apli, his son (mar-ïshu) and the officers of Assyria rebelled,
11	removed him from his throne, shut him up in a room and killed him.

Instead, 20th century scholars chose to synchronize the date when the reign of Kashtiliash ended and the date when Babylon was invaded by Tukulti-Ninurta I, relying entirely on their understanding of the data contained in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic. When the reader looks at the timelines in our Figure 3, and marvels at the precise correspondence of dates, he/she needs to recognize that the timelines of Assyria and Kassite Babylonia were set in place by 19th and early 20th century scholars precisely to achieve this precision. Our Figure three is the result of two absolutely unproven assumptions, namely, 1) that the Kassite king Adad-shuma-usur must be identified as the prince by that name in the fourth column of the Chronicle P, and 2) that the invasion of Babylon which resulted in the "seven year occupation" took place at the end of the reign of Kashtiliashu IV. The timelines are the result of scholars assuming the accuracy of those assumptions, therefore they cannot be used in any shape or form to argue for the accuracy of those assumptions, which would amount to a blatant use of circular reasoning.

Having argued above that the relative positioning of the Assyrian and Kassite timelines in Figure 3 derived from two faulty assumptions and are contrived in such a way as to reflect those assumptions, we go on to outline two entirely independent arguments which combine to prove that those assumptions are simply not true.

1) Several facts need to be established regarding the Chronicle P fourth column mention of a prince named Adad-shuma-usur before we can identify this individual. In the first place we need to determine the ethnicity of this prince, now being elected to occupy his father's throne. It would also be advantageous if we could identify his father, and perhaps even establish when his father died and how long his throne has been lying vacant. Finally, we need to identify the party or parties against whom the "Akkadian officers of Karduniash" are rebelling. Only then can it be determined if Adad-shuma-usur, newly crowned as the successor to his father, should be identified as Adad-shuma-usur, the Kassite king in our Figure 3. Answering the first and last of these questions is not difficult. In fact an answer to both can be proposed in a few brief sentences. We note first of all that it is a group of Babylonian officers dwelling in Akkad, the northern section of Karduniash, that are instigating the rebellion. Rather than continuing to serve in the administration of a foreign government (the Kassites), in a country presently overrun by Assyrians, with Assyrian governors at the helm, they apparently want a native prince to lead them. And the name of the prince whom they desire to elevate to kingship is decidedly Babylonian, a fact disputed by absolutely no-one. These facts combine to argue persuasively that Adad-shuma-usur was a Babylonian prince and that the Akkadian officers are rebelling against both the *de lecto* Kassite king - who has apparently been taken captive, or has been driven from Karduniash and is awaiting the opportune time to regain control of his vassal state - and the Assyrian governor(s) who are presently misgoverning the state. As for the query concerning the parentage of this Adad-shuma-usur and how long his father's throne has been vacant we can at least venture an opinion. The fact that Adad-shuma-usur was a native Babylonian implies that his father was a Babylonian king, deposed and likely killed by the Assyrians, who seven years prior invaded Karduniash, defeated the existing Kassite king, and likely drove the Kassites from Karduniash. This scenario cannot possibly fit any historical context in the 13th century BC. In fact it fits no situation known to have existed in the entire course of Babylonian history, as that history is outlined in the traditional history. Only in the revised history, with the Kassites moved into the first millennium, overlapping the native 4th to 9th dynasties of "kings of Babylon", did there exist native Babylonian kings and Kassite kings jointly ruling Babylonia, and only during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II did an Assyrian invasion of Karduniash end the life of a native "king of Babylon" and drive out the Kassites, governing the vassal state for seven years.

A glance at our Figure 1 will quickly inform the reader concerning the answers to our remaining questions. The father of Adad-shuma-usur, the prince elevated to "his father's throne" by "the Akkadian officers of Karduniash" can now be positively identified. His name was Nabu-shuma-ukin I, as is evident in our Figure 1. Of this we are certain. The critic will certainly object, arguing that Babylonian history has no record of the existence of a king Adad-shuma-usur, son of Nabu-shuma-ukin. But that is not surprising. The legitimacy of the uprising which purposed to install Adad-shuma-user as king may well be questioned. After all, it was not the nation as a whole that sanctioned this coup-d'etat on the part of some small section of a country occupied by foreigners. And we have previously argued the case, from the point of view of the revised

history, that the "kings of Babylon" in dynasties 4 through to the "dynasty of E" served at the pleasure of the Kassite overlords of Karduniash. Within months, if not days or weeks, of the rebellion in Akkad, the Assyrian rebellion by the army and son of Tukulti-Ninurta II, deposed and murdered that king. Without doubt the Kassites returned to Karduniash. And they, not the Akkadian officers, determined the succession question, installing Nabu-apla-iddina on his father's throne. We have no proof that this is what happened. But we are dealing here with a very poorly documented time in Babylonian history. And there is absolutely no record of how, when, or why Nabu-apla-iddina succeeded his father. We know only that he did.

2) In column four of the Chronicle P, beyond the narrative running from 3:22 to 4:13, there exist two separate vignettes, one (4:14-16) related to the Kassite king Enlil-nadin-shumi, and a second (4:17-22) related to the Kassite king Adad-shuma-iddina. Assuming that the chronicler is following protocol, and that the three vignettes are listed in chronological order, it follows that the coup which placed the Babylonian prince Adad-shuma-usur on the throne of his father must have preceded in time the reigns of both Enlil-nadin-shumi and Adad-shuma-usur. But according to the traditional history the reverse situation prevailed. The reign of Adad-shuma-usur (1216-1187) followed that of both Enlil-nadin-shumi (1224) and Adad-shuma-iddina (1222-1217) (see Figure 3). The only possible explanation is that Adad-shuma-usur the prince and Adad-shuma-usur the Kassite king, are two different persons. That fact is patently obvious in the revised history where the Babylonian Adad-shuma-usur lived at the end of the seven year long Assyrian occupation dated 890-884 BC, and the reign of the Kassite kings Enlil-nadin-shumi and Adad-shuma-iddina have moved forward in time 440 years. Their reigns are now dated 783 and 781-776 respectively. And the reign of Adad-shuma-usur (775-745) followed theirs without interruption. Once again the Chronicle P author is vindicated.

While we are on the subject of the Kassite kings Enlil-nadin-shumi and Adad-shuma-iddina we should at least mention the fact, obvious in our Figure 3, that these two kings supposedly ruled during the Assyrian occupation that supposedly took place in the time frame 1225-1217 (see Figure 3). And the two vignettes at the end of column four of the Chronicle P stress the fact that both kings had their reigns cut short when Karduniash was invaded twice by an Elamite king named Kidin-Hutran. Of course, both of these facts are an embarassment to traditional historians, who are at a loss to explain how Karduniash, only recently conquered by the powerful Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I, and presumably governed throughout the seven years following by Assyrian governors, can at the same time be ruled by Kassite kings and conquered twice by an Elamite king, with devastating results for the country, yet with no visible response by the Assyrian monarch Tukulti-Ninurta I. Assyrian scholars have for the last century expended countless thousands of hours, and filled volumes of journal pages attempting to explain this situation, all to no avail. That situation simply defies explanation, other than the one which traditional scholars will not even contemplate, to wit, the admission that the Kassite timeline is positioned incorrectly in the Figure 3 diagram. The dates for every Kassite king named on both Kassite timelines in that figure need to be lowered by 440 years, moving them from the $13^{th}/12^{th}$ centuries into the 8^{th} century. In our 4^{th} paper we made that adjustment, and in

papers #3 and #4 we demonstrated that the Kassite kings fit perfectly in their new surroundings. We leave it to readers new to this series of papers to double back and read our arguments.

Both of our previous points have demonstrated, using only the content of the fourth column of the Chronicle P, that the Kassite king named Adad-shuma-usur and the Chronicle P Babylonian prince named Adad-shuma-usur are not the same person. The first was a Kassite king, a son of Kashtiliash IV, who was apparently given a Babylonian name simply because he ruled in the 8th century BC, at a time when the names of Babylonian gods were increasing incorporated into personal names of both Assyrian and Kassite kings. Particularly popular were the names of Marduk, his son Nabu, and Adad. The second Adad-shuma-usur was a native Babylonian, son of the Babylonian king Nabu-shuma-ukin I, the latter a casualty of the conquest of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta II in the year 891 BC, the accession year that Assyrian king.

We turn our attention now to the second of the problematic names documented in the fourth column of the Chronicle P, the king named Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur.

Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur.

We examine this name not because the analysis will appreciably advance our argument against the Figure 3 timelines proposed by scholars of the traditional history, but because our revised timeline, which dates the invasion and occupation of Karduniash to the reign of the 9th century king Tukulti-Ninurta II, needs to explain the presence of this name in the fourth column of the Chronicle P. The explanation will not take long since it involves the transliteration and translation of a single line of cuneiform text. Nevertheless, it is imperative that we discuss the name.

We set the stage by quoting the problematic line in the fourth column of the Chronicle P, first from our Figure 5 Livius translation

12' For sixty[?]-six (until the time of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur)[4], Bêl stayed in Assyria, in the time of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, Bel
13' went to Babylon.

and then from the translation provided by A. Kirk Grayson:

12	For sixty?-six years - until (the time of) (Ninurta)-tukulti-assur, Bel stayed in Assyria. In the time of Tukulti-assur, Bel
13	Went to Babylon.

The context of these two verses is clearly spelled out in the earlier verses of the fourth column inscription. In the initial assault on the city of Babylon, Tukulti-Ninurta not only breached the

wall of the city, but also confiscated/pilfered the statue of the god Marduk. In the revised history this would be in the year 891 BC, the accession year of Tukulti-Ninurta. The Assyrian king proceeded to install governors to regulate the affairs of the country, and he then returned to Assyria, carrying with him the image of Marduk/Bel. Depending on precisely when the death of Adad-Nirari II occurred in the Babylonian year, Tukulti-Ninurta's assault on the city of Babylon may well have lasted into his first official year, i.e. 890 BC. Assuming this to be the case, the removal of the god's statue should be dated in the year 890 BC.

Assuming that the traditional history is correct in dating the attack on Babylon and the occupation of Karduniash to the years 1225-1217 (see Figure 3 above), the date of the removal of the statue must be dated ca 1225, and scholars scrambled to interpret the reference in the 12th line of column four to the return of the statue during the abbreviated reign of the only Assyrian king bearing the name Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur. Assuming that the 12th line referred to the return of the statue sixty-six years after its removal, this king should be ruling Assyria around the year 1159 BC (1225 - 66). In fact, the king Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur actually ruled for only months, in the approximate year 1133, not quite what scholars were hoping for, but assuming a small error on the part of the scribe who manufactured or copied the Chronicle P, or an incorrect reading of the damaged section of the tablet from which the number sixty?-six was transliterated, this number was (and still is) considered to be sufficiently close to the required figure, enabling traditional scholars such as the Livius translator and Grayson, to continue believing that the statue was returned to Babylon in the reign of Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur, 92 years (1225 - 1133) after it was removed. But there are problems with this dating, seldom mentioned in the academic community. We list them here.

1) The importance of the god's statue in the cult ceremonial and devotional life of the people of Babylon cannot be overestimated. In times of warfare, when the yearly procession of the god's statue within and without the city was interrupted, the event was "front page news". In times of famine, when it is recorded that the population were starving to the extent that cannibalism was rampant, the god enjoyed his daily meal. Kings were judged and punished, oft-times by removal from office, if the god was deemed to be displeased or mistreated, and what greater injustice could possibly befall the god than his removal from the Babylon temple. And to argue that the population (and army) of Karduniash would tolerate the absence of the god for 92 years, all the while the absent god resided in Assur, at most twenty kilometers north of the border between Assyria and Karduniash, is utterly absurd. There is no other word it. This situation did not happen, no matter how strenuously Assyrian scholars argue that it did.

2) Once again the scribe who inscribed the Chronicle P comes to our rescue. We have said repeatedly in the course of writing this paper that this scribe was extremely accurate, careful to follow all the protocols required of these historiographical texts. Each individual vignette is carefully separated from others by a horizontal stroke of the stylus, and all events within those inscriptional boundaries are deemed to have taken place within a few years, if not months, of one another. Our critical 12th line lies in the pericope concerned with the invasion and

occupation of Karduniash (3:22-4:13), in fact at the very end of that narrative. If it is describing the return of the statue of Marduk, then there is a presumption that the return of the statue took place near the end of the occupational time frame, 1225-1217 in the traditional history or 890-884 in the revised history. The framework of these chronicles does not permit the inclusion of incidents that lie 92 years distant from the subject being discussed.

3) In the final analysis we are compelled to examine the 12th line of the Chronicle P for ourselves, much as we did in our 4th paper when we argued that the final two lines of the third column belonged to the narrative completed in the first 13 lines of the fourth column. We were fortunate then to find online a close-up photograph of the reverse of the relevant tablet BM 92701, as well as a detailed line drawing of the 4th column inscription. We duplicated both in our 4th paper and reproduce them below as our Figures 4, & 5. And we separate for examination the 12th line from Hugo Winklers line art diagram as our Figure 6, adding to it both a transliteration and a translation. Comment follows.

Figure 4: British Museum online photograph of the reverse of tablet BM 92701.

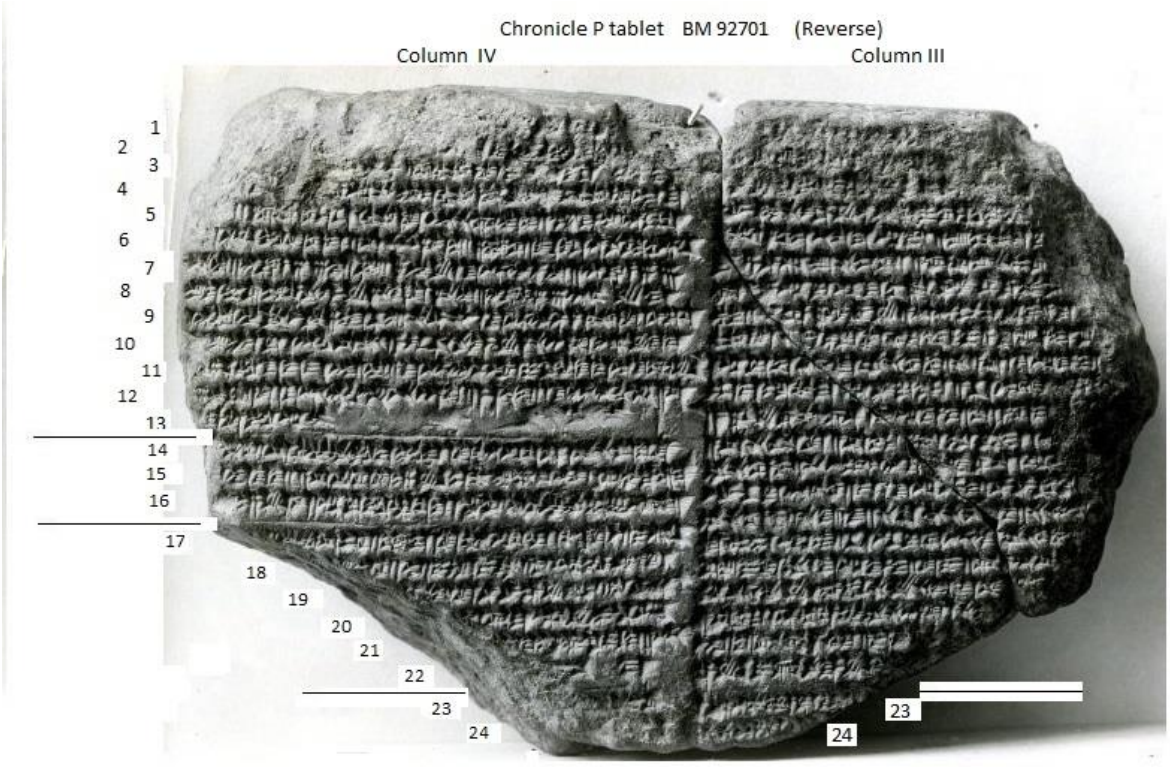


Figure 5: Hugo Winkler's line art diagram of the cuneiform text of the 4th column of the Chronicle P tablet, BM 92701.

Copied from Hugo Winckler (1895). "Text der Chronik P".

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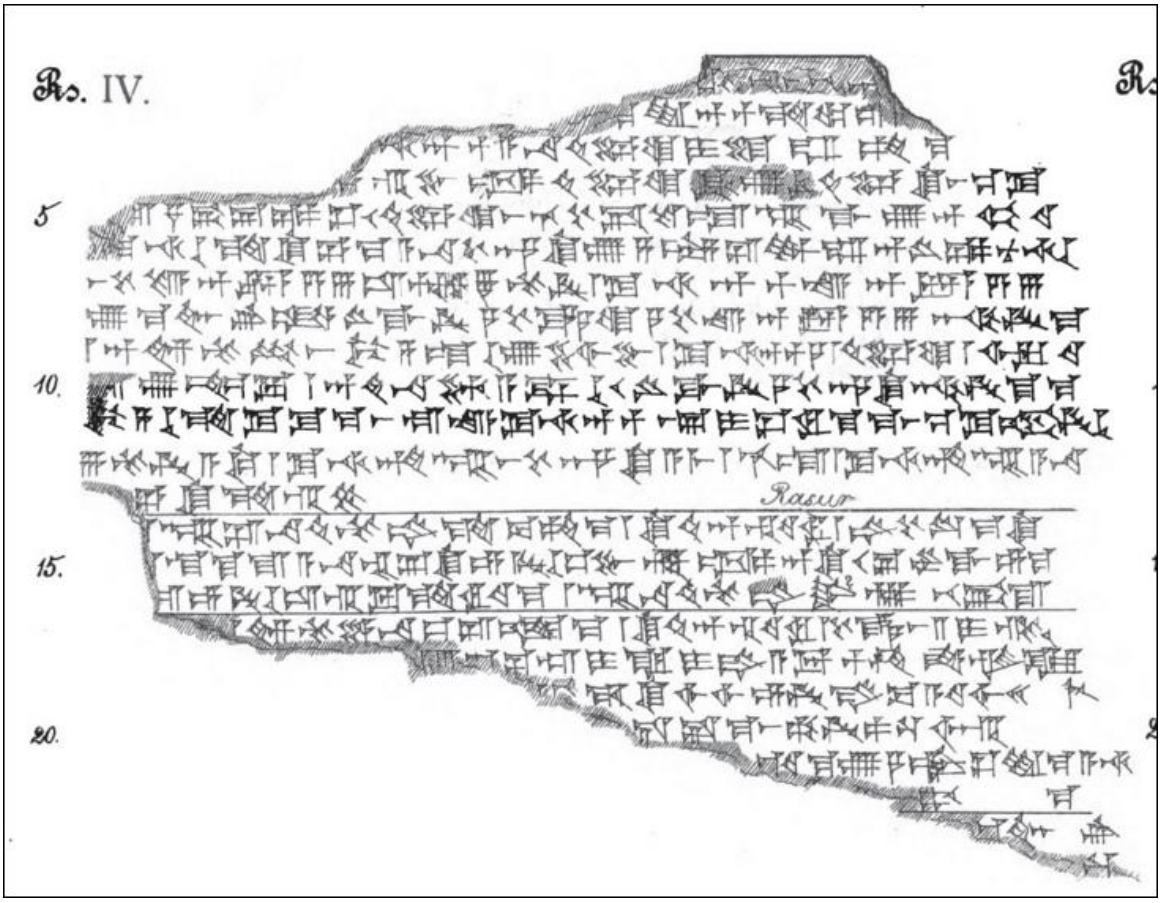


Figure 6: Transliteration and translation of column 4, line 12, of the Chronicle P

ÀŠ MU MEŠ a-di ^{m}tukul-ti ^{d}AN ^{d}EN AŠ ^{mat}Aššur^{ki} a-šib ana tar-ṣi ^{m}tukul-ti ^{d}AN ^{d}EN a-na

Six years until Tukulti-Aššur Bēl in Assyria dwelt. At (the) Tukulti-Aššur Bēl to direction of

Babylon went. (words added from line 13)

We make the following points concerning our Figures 4, 5, & 6.

1) Although line 12 of the fourth column is reasonably free from damage, it is admittedly difficult to read the sign on the extreme left in the photograph of the reverse of the tablet. We know that the sign is intended to represent the number six, in cuneiform simply six vertical half strokes. We can see only four. But Winkler actually held the tablet, and was able to clearly discern the number six as we see in his line drawing. That sign hugs the left margin of the tablet. There is absolutely no room for another cuneiform sign before this ÀŠ logogram, which represents the Assyrian word šeššu = "six". It is clearly wishful thinking on the part of scholars to hypothesize the possible existence of a single vertical stroke in this position, the cuneiform sign requiring the least amount of space. Conveniently that stroke in this position would represent the logogram GÍŠ meaning "sixty". Scholars have consistently conjectured the existence of that sign in front of the ÀŠ logogram in order to at least come close to the 92 years required to reach the year 1133, the time of Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur. Thus the number "sixty" remains in all translations, but always followed by a question mark. Any other numerical sign in that position would occupy too much space and is clearly ruled out of consideration. But even a millimeter of space is not available, and Winkler, viewing the tablet from inches away, clearly saw that the ÀŠ sign reached the left margin of the tablet.

2) The second correction noted by our translation is that the name of the king Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur appears nowhere on line 12, though it is twice included in the Livius translation. The name Tukulti-Ashur appears instead. The Livius translation is defective in that regard. Believing that the name Tukulti-Ashur is an epithet of Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur is one thing; actually substituting the full name for the epithet is yet another. Even Grayson cannot resist the temptation to prefix the name Ninurta to one of the two occurrences of the name Tukulti-Ashur in line 12, albeit in brackets, but clearly revealing his opinion.

3) We have translated the Assyrian word tarṣi in the second half of line 12 as "at the direction of" rather than "in the time of", as do both the Livius site and Grayson who read "At the time of Tukulti-Ashur, Bel went to Babylon. There is clearly a difference. In the first translation Tukulti-Ashur actually issues the "return" order. In the second, the time when Tukulti-Ashur came into office is used as a temporal marker indicating when the "return" took place. The order could have originated, and likely did originate, elsewhere. We defer to the two scholars, partly because they are specialists in the language, and this author is a rank amateur, and partly because their translation agrees more completely with the author's thinking, as expressed in point 5 below. We leave the alternative in the above diagram, should there be need to rely on it as details emerge regarding the incident in question.

4) Assuming we are correct in our comments regarding the reading "six years" at the beginning of the line 12 translation, we are able to assign a date to the return of the Bēl statue to Babylon. We have previously argued that the statue was removed from Babylon to Assyria in the year 890 BC, the first official year of Tukulti-Ninurta II. It follows that Bēl must have been returned to Babylon in the year 885, the sixth official year of the Assyrian king. This was not a peaceful time in Assyria. Tukulti-Ninurta II was constantly at war. The Assyrian army was

discontented. Ashurnasirpal, the son of Tukulti-Ninurta II, was apparently displeased with his father's treatment of Assyria's southern neighbor. The Chronicle P refers to the king as one "who had carried (out) criminal designs against Babylon". We assume that that opinion was voiced by Ashurnasirpal. And we can be sure that this displeasure extended to his father's confiscation of the statue of Bel. Within a year Assyria would rebel against Tukulti-Ninurta's leadership. Ashuruballit and the Assyrian army would depose, imprison and murder the king. Perhaps sensing the coming storm, in 885 BC Tukulti-Ninurta mellowed somewhat in his treatment of Babylon. On the one hand he appointed a new government official to oversee affairs in Babylon, and on the other hand he ordered the return of the Bel statue to that city. Alternatively he ordered the new governor to order the return of the statue. We have no concrete evidence that this sequence of events took place, but we are nevertheless certain that the two actions did take place that year.

5) It is the opinion of this paper that Tukulti-Ashur was the name of the governor newly appointed to oversee affairs in Karduniash in the year 885 BC. He was likely appointed to govern the province of Babylon in part because he had superior conciliatory skills, but also because Babylon was the residence of the statue of Bel, newly returned to the city after a six year absence, and because that city's inhabitants would be those most affected by its absence and thus those most resentful. And we have already suggested the probable reasons why these two changes were made. Unfortunately this was a case of "too little, too late". Within a year Tukulti-Ninurta was dead.

Having commented on the names Adad-shuma-usur and Tukulti-Ashur in the narrative 3:22-4:13, there remains one more name that requires explanation. According to verses 10 and 11, at the end of the seven years of occupation

> **10'** Aššur-nasir-apli, son of that Tukulti-Ninurta who had carried criminal designs against Babylon, and the officers of Assyria rebelled against Tukulti-Ninurta, **11'** removed him from the throne, shut him up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and killed him.

We need to add commentary both to the mention of the city named Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and to Tukulti-Ninurta's confinement and execution therein.

<u>Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta</u>.

We have yet to comment on the apparent disconnect between the traditional history's positioning of the Assyrian occupation of Karduniash (1225-1217) - which, if we are correct in our analysis of the Chronicle P lines 4:10-11 quoted above, implies that Tukulti-Ninurta I died in 1217 BC, immediately after the end of the occupation of Karduniash - and the fact that he actually died in 1207 BC. Apparently the same scholars who determined that the conquest of Babylon took place in 1225, the 19th official year of Tukulti-Ninurta, were of the opinion that the Chronicle P interpretation of events was unreliable, or that the language employed was

open to interpretation. We disagree on both counts. The Chronicle P has proved to be accurate in all respects in its recounting of history, and no amount of argument could convince this author that the language employed in the fourth column cuneiform text could be interpreted as saying that Tukulti-Ninurta was removed from the throne, confined for ten years, and then executed. That second option, once accepted by scholars, has been entirely ruled out by excavations at the site of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta.

The city of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta was built by Tukulti-Ninurta I. It is located approximately two kilometers north-east of Assur, bordering the Tigris River on the east. According to the majority of scholars, construction of the city began soon *after* the conquest of Babylon by the king, and was quickly concluded, although a contrary opinion has recently been expressed by Alessandro Gilibert, the author of a brief article entitled *On Kar Tukulti-Ninurta: Chronology and Politics of a Middle Assyrian Ville Neuve*. She begins her article by reviewing the archaeological work done at the site during the 20th century, stating that

> "the site was excavated by a German team led by Walter Bachmann from October, 1913 to March 1914. Fieldwork then resumed in 1986 and again in 1989 by a team of the Berlin Freie Universitat under the direction of Reinhard Dittmann".

She then proceeds to outline the contents of two royal inscriptions found *in situ* in these excavations and four others which, based on internal textual evidence, makes it "beyond doubt" that they came from foundation deposits in Kar Tukulti-Ninurta. All six inscriptions are similarly worded and all provide "a relatively detailed account of the foundation of the city", a narrative that is "always preceded by a mention of the military triumph of Tukulti-Ninurta I over a king Kashtiliash, king of the Kassites". In the words of Gilibert:

> This historical event, which sets a terminus ante quem non for the composition of the inscriptions, culminated in the sack of Babylon, to be dated to between the 13th and the 19th years of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta, perhaps to 1225 BCE. Following the pattern suggested by the inscriptions, the scholarly consensus tends to view the foundation of Kar Tukulti-Ninurta as a form of consummation of that military enterprise, and allows for its building only a comparatively short period of time (until 1197 BCE (sic), when the king dies). (p. 178) (hyperlink added)

Having discussed these six royal inscriptions, from which the majority opinion derives (i.e. the opinion that the building of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta began after the conquest of Babylon), Gilibert procedes to detail evidence that the building of Kar Tukulti-Ninurta actually began very early in the reign of the Assyrian king and continued throughout his reign and beyond. She is almost certainly correct in her appraisal of the evidence. Regardless, the content of the six royal inscriptions demands the conclusion that a great deal, if not the majority of the construction of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta took place in the years *following* the conquest of Babylon, and this construction is credited to Tukulti-Ninurta I, who continued to work on the project until his death, when the work would have been continued by his son Ashur-nadin-apli. If so, it should follow that the Assyrian king was never removed from his throne, never confined to a room in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, and never murdered by his son. Gilibert herself, in the concluding section of her essay, argues that "the 'Chronicle P', a Babylonian chronicle written at the end of the 7th

century BCE, transfigures Kar Tukulti-Ninurta into a death trap for the king after whom it was named", and she adds a footnote which states that

> The chronicle is a work of literature and should not be taken as a reliable account of facts: see in particular Rollig 1967 and Mayer 1988."

We understand completely her position. It is not only difficult to reconcile the archaeological evidence describing the construction of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta with the Chronicle account of the confinement and murder of Tukulti-Ninurta I – it is impossible. But Gilibert should not defame the chronicler in consequence. The Chronicle P narrative is absolutely accurate. But it has been applied to the wrong king. As we have already observed, its details fit perfectly when applied to the seven year reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II.

Before moving on to examine two other campaigns of Tukulti-Ninurta II, we should clarify one aspect of Gilibert's analysis of the construction of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta that may be problematic for readers. When she summarized the content of the six royal inscriptions, noting that they describe the construction of the city after first mentioning the defeat of Kashtiliash and the sack of Babylon, we suspect that many readers might wrongly equate that battle with the one described in the fourth column of the Chronicle P, and continue to believe in the traditional history's interpretation of that fourth column, in spite of the evidence cited to the contrary. After all, the fact that two kings named Tukulti-Ninurta attacked and defeated Babylon, and removed the statue of the city god in the process, is simply too much of a coincidence. Or is it? A few explanatory comments are in order.

We have always believed that Tukulti I fought and defeated a Babylonian king named Kashtiashu. What we argued at the end of our 4th paper is the fact that the lowering of dates for the Kassite kings by 440 years applied to all Kassite kings throughout that dynasty's 576 year history. Thus all the Kassites named in our Figure 3 ought to be deleted, since they have been moved to the 8th century (see paper #3). In their place we should diagram the sequence of Kassite kings who governed 440 years earlier, and have thus been moved forward into the 13th century. These king must have lived near the very beginning of the dynasty, which existed for only 576 years. Among these early Kassite kings are three named Kashtiliashu. With the forward translation into the late 13th century, the first two kings bearing this name were likely contemporaries of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Were we to make the suggested change to our Figure 3, absolutely every problem we have addressed in the previous pages would disappear. There was a conflict between Tukulti-Ninurta I and one of the earlier Kassite kings named Kashtiliashu, probably Kashtiliashu I, but there was no seven year occupation of Assyria; there were no kings named Enlil-nadin-shumi, Adad-shuma-iddina and Adad-shuma-usur; there was no son named Ashurbanipal to displace, imprison and murder his father. Tukulti-Ninurta I lived a long life, most of which was consumed with a variety of military campaigns, one of which was directed against Babylon, following which he was able to apply his newly confiscated treasure to enhancing the beauty of his namesake city. And his building of his city continued uninterrupted until his death.

Our readers should not make the same mistake made by Gilibert, interpreting the building activity related to Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta as if it casts doubt on the reliability of the Chronicle P. As mentioned, that document, properly interpreted, and applied to the right king, is an absolutely credible source of historical data. As for the battle between Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kashtiashu (I) we need to add only a few more remarks in passing. A multitude of online sites outline the chronology of the early Kassite kings. One of the best can be found here, where a table is provided listing all the known kings of the dynasty together with suggested dates. In that table Kashtiliashu I is assigned the dates 1681-1660. The dates follow from a number of considerations, but primarily from the data on the Babylonian King List A, which does provide the reign lengths of the first three kings (though heavily damaged and open to interpretation) and also the combined reign lengths of all the kings of the dynasty. Working back from the assumed date when the dynasty ends (ca 1155 BC), traditional scholars can easily date its beginning and from there determine dates for, at minimum, the first three kings. The author of the recommended article is not guessing. He is applying grade three arithmetic to well known and generally accepted data from the Babylonian king list. And when the traditional history dates for Kashtiliashu I (1681-1660) are reduced by 440 years, this king's reign is now dated (1241-1220), thus in general agreement with our hypothesis that he fought a losing battle against Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207).

Only one final detail needs to be mentioned. According to the traditional history, when Tukulti-Ninurta I fought against Kashtiliashu IV (who now turns out to have been Kashtiliashu I) and in the process conquered the city of Babylon, he removed the statue of the god Bel, yet one more reason why the traditional history initially embraced the Chronicle P as a secondary source of knowledge on this historic battle, the primary source being the previously mentioned Tukulti-Ninurta Epic (see pages 11 & 12 above). Both the Chronicle P and the Epic mention a battle fought by an Assyrian king named Tukulti-Ninurta against a Babylonian opponent. In both the city of Babylon was sacked and the statue of the god Marduk (= Bel) was confiscated and removed to Assyria. In the Epic the opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta was a king named Kashtiliashu and in the other an unnamed king (assumed to be the same Kashtiliashu). This multiple correspondence of names and actions needs to be explained, other than by simply referring to them as "coincidental". We do not believe that this replication of names and actions was a "coincidence". With respect to the name Kashtiliashu, there is clearly no coincidence, since the name was never present in the Chronicle P. It was supplied, errantly, by scholars of the traditional history, and we have argued strenuously that the narrative which continued in 4:1-13 actually began in 3:22-23, and that Nazi-Maruttash was leading the army of his father Kurigalzu I against Tukulti-Ninurta II. As for the fact that both the Chronicle P king Tukulti-Ninurta and the 13th century king Tukulti-Ninurta I attacked and conquered the city of Babylon, we argue that this duplication of military campaigns by namesake kings was common practice. A case in point can be found in our discussion of the Broken Obelisk in our paper #5. That document features four columns of text describing multiple military battles that for decades at the beginning of the 20th century, were conceived as a summary of those fought by Tiglath-

Pileser I. Later in the 20th century traditional scholars came to the conclusion that they were actually battles fought by Ashur-bel-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser I. And in our last paper, we proved that annals of the Broken Obelisk describe the battles fought by a namesake king Tiglath-Pileser II. Like named kings in the ancient world seemed to have been possessed with a desire to replicate the actions of their namesake ancestor(s). And should the opportunity present itself, invariably they appear to have acted on that impulse. And in the case of Assyria and her southern neighbor opportunities for conflict abounded, usually resulting from border disputes. In our next section we will add further evidence that Tukulti-Ninurta II did in fact invade Karduniash and conquer the city of Babylon, thus replicating the actions of his late 13th century ancestor.

That leaves only the removal of the Bel statue to consider, and that action may already have been explained. On the one hand, if both kings named Tukulti-Ninurta did invade and sack Babylon in campaigns separated by three centuries, it should surprise no-one that they both removed the statue of the god of that city. That action is typical of conquests throughout the Ancient Near East and in virtually all centuries BC. This removal appropriately signified victory and suzerainty over the city. On the other hand, Tukulti-Ninurta II was almost certainly familiar with the Tukulti-Ninurta epic, and the central role played by the removal of the statue of Bel in that drama, and would be inclined to replicate that feat. There is also the remote possibility that the first Tukulti-Ninurta did not actually remove the god's image, in spite of the mention of that fact in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic. Lengthy epics are notorious for being the work of story-tellers, and for being transmitted orally, with the addition of fictional elements added in the telling. There is a possibility that in the final century of the growth of the Epic, that document began to telescope the first and second invasions of Babylon, incorporating into the story the actions of Tukulti-Ninurta II. When we read the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic we are reading a late 8th or early 7th century scribal copy, undoubtedly edited many times over the intervening six centuries.

We leave behind our discussion of Tukulti-Ninurta II's accession year campaign, and his ensuing seven year occupation of Karduniash, and briefly look at his campaigns from year 1 to year 6. One of the two tablets on which he recorded his annals has survived to the present. Unfortunately this is not the tablet that records his campaigns in his official first and second years, the one we would be most interested in. But a brief record of campaigns during years three through 6 is accessible on a large tablet, a photo of which is pictured in our Figure 7 below.

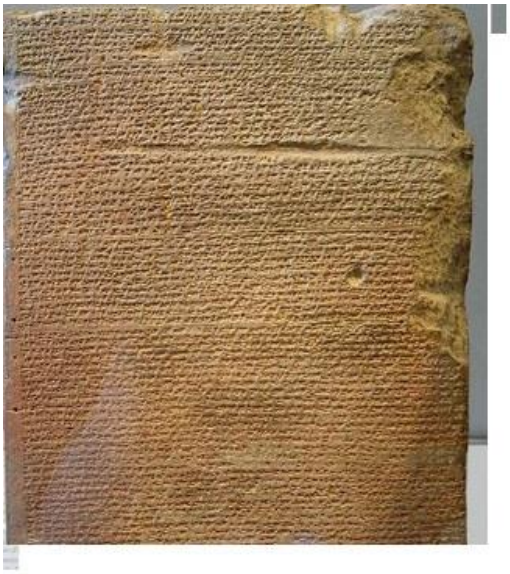
Annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II

We leave behind the accession year/1st year campaign of Tukulti-Ninurta II and turn briefly to the document which describes several of his later campaigns, specifically those conducted in his 4th, 5th and 6th years. Tablet AO 4655 was purchased on the open market by the Louvre early in

the 20th century, and apart from a few tablet fragments of little significance is the sum total of all we know about his activities between the conquest of Babylon and his assassination sometime during his seventh year. We include below in Figure 10 two photographs of the tablet, one of the obverse and one of the reverse.

We actually have very little to say about the first five of the six campaigns described on the existing tablet, save for the fact that they occurred in rapid succession and very little text is given over to their description. Lukenbill fills two full pages of his *Ancient Records* (pp. 126-27) translating the sparse details of campaigns 1-5, and almost five full pages (pp. 128-132) translating the sixth campaign, which according to him are described "in the minutest detail." A final section of the tablet, recording miscellaneous "hunting and building activities of the king" occupies but a single full page (p. 133). Two features alone in this translation occupy our attention in this paper. The first is the sixth campaign, viewed in its entirety. The second is one specific building enterprise of the king recorded near the end of the tablet. We examine them separated and in that order.

Figure 7: The annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II



Obverse

Reverse

The sixth year campaign – its purpose.

We let Brinkman provide the bare outline of this campaign:

> The Assyrian kings of this time occasionally toured the lands of the Habur and the middle Euphrates with their armies to collect tribute in person. One such tour which took place towards the close of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II probably fell during the early years of the reign of Nabu-apla-iddina. The Assyrian king left Assur on the twenty-sixth of Nissan in the year 885 and proceeded along the Wadi Tharthar until he reached its southern end. Then he turned east to the Tigris, descended to the region of Dur-Kurigalzu, and crossed over to Sippar of Shamash before beginning his tour up the Euphrates. It should be noted that Tukulti-Ninurta travelled for over a week within territory that was Babylonian, apparently presuming on the earlier treaty of friendship between Babylonia and Assyria. The Assyrian king's itinerary was recorded in detail throughout the journey; and it is obvious that Tukulti-Ninurta was journeying in foreigh or non-subject territory at least as far as the city of Anat, which was the first place at which he received tribute. Even there the official, Ilu-ibni, who was called the governor (shaknu) of the land of Suhi and who offered the king "tribute" (namurtu), was a vassal in an isolated outpost, the loyalty of which was vacillating. It was four more days' journey before the king reached the next place for exacting tribute on his triumphal march, which then continued up the Euphrates and the Habur. PKB 183-4

It is curious how scholars are forced to conjecture reasons for this strange tour of the north of Karduniash. It is true that tribute was collected, but only from remote outposts, which has led Brinkman to assume that Tukulti-Ninurta II was not suzerain over the heart of Karduniash. And he speculates that the Assyrian army could tour the country without fear of reprisal because of an existing treaty between Assyria and Karduniash, a reference to the 894 BC peace treaty forged between Adad-Ninurta II and Nabu-shuma-ukin I, which we reviewed earlier in this paper. Brinkman assumes that this "peace treaty" would have permitted a foreign army to journey at will within the land of Karduniash, coming dangerously close to the Kassite fortress of Dur-Kurigalzu, with apparently no response.

Albert Kirk Grayson, in his *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* is equally perplexed by this "tour" by the Assyrian army:

It is known that Tukulti-Ninurta II made some kind of an expedition to Babylonia. Since no encounters or battles with the Babylonians are mentioned, the nature of this expedition remains a mystery.

Let us solve the mystery. There was no longer a peace treaty between Assyria and Karduniash/Babylonia in 885 BC. In our review at the beginning of this paper we documented two battles between Assyria and Karduniash following the forging of the peace treaty between Adad-Nirari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin I in 894 BC. That peace treaty lasted for only a few years and was now "off the table". And a third battle had taken place in 891 BC, the accession year of Tukulti-Ninurta II, during which the Kassites were driven from Karduniash, Nabu-shuma-ukin I

taken captive or killed, and Assyrian governors installed "to govern the country", a position which would have allowed them "to collect tribute". It follows that the Assyrian army did not need to collect tribute in the heart of Karduniash, but only in remote areas where Assyrian officials in charge of the country were reluctant or unable to venture. And the Assyrian army could journey without fear of reprisal because Assyrian forces were probably stationed throughout Karduniash, including in the fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu, to safeguard the resident Assyrian officials.

And we conjecture one other purpose of this 6th year journey by Tukulti-Ninurta. The reader will recall from earlier in this paper that this was the year the "statue of Marduk/Bel" was returned to Babylon. And we had mentioned in that context, that the return of this artifact was likely motivated by the growing discontent of the Assyrian army. The six year campaign thus afforded the opportunity to give the Assyrian army some needed "rest and relaxation", while escorting the replacement governor of Babylon named Tukulti-Ashur to his new office, bearing the long-lost statue. All to no avail. The next year, his seventh, Tukulti-Ninurta II was captured, imprisoned and killed by his son Ashurnasirpal and this same army.

The sixth year reference to Ashuruballit

The single building action to which we referred earlier was actually considered important enough to almost complete fill the building section at the end of the tablet. We quote below about half of the text devoted to its description, and in this instance we quote the relevant section from two sources, the first from Luckenbill's *Ancient Records*, written in 1926, and the second from A. Kirk Grayson's 1991 publication *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I (1114-859 BC)*.

> When the wall of the great terrace, which [belonged to the time before] my reign, and which aforetime the earlier kings, who lived before me, had built, became weak, patesi of Ashur, [**Assur-uballit**] viceroy of Assur, rebuilt it. Again it became weak and Tukulti-Urta, viceroy of Assur, son of Adad=nirari, viceroy of Assur, cleared its site, went down to its foundation, and laid its foundation walls upon mighty blocks of mountain stone. 300 [tipku, layers of brick (?), with 20 bricks for the width, from the kidi (perhaps, the outside), over its former (height) I added to it, I made it thick. From [its foundation} to its top I constructed, I completed it. I made it more beautiful than it was before, I made it (more) magnificent. (Luckenbill, Ancient Records, p. 133) (emphasis added)

> At that time the wall of the large terrace of my lordly palace which previously earlier kings who preceded me had built – (when) it became dilapidated **Aššur-bel-k]ala** vice-regent of Ashur had rebuilt (it) – had again become dilapidated and I, Tukulti-Ninurta, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Adad-narari (ii) [(who was) also] vice-[regent of Aššur], delineated its area (and)dug down to the bottom of its foundation pit. I laid its foundation in bedrock. I made it wider by adding from the outside 300[layers of brick] to the (wall which was already) 20 broad bricks (wide). I reconstructed it from top to bottom and completed (it). I made its decoration more splendid than before. (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers, p. 178) (emphasis added)

In the course of doing major repairs on the terrace of the palace complex in the city of Ashur, Tukulti-Ninurta contrasts the (re)construction/repairs of the terrace credited to generations of unnamed "*earlier kings*", *who lived before him*, with the rebuilding (recently) done by himself and a king named Assuruballit (Luckenbill) or Ashurbelkala (Grayson). The language of the text seems to imply that this Assuruballit (or Ashurbelkala) was not one of these earlier kings, but instead a contemporary of Tukulti-Ninurta himself. That is not to say that the reign of this named king overlapped that of Tukulti-Ninurta, but that the live-spans of the two individuals overlapped. That would definitely eliminate Ashurbelkala (1073-1056) from consideration, and argue persuasively that our late 10th century Ashuruballit (935-894) was the king being referenced. We assume that Tukulti-Ninurta was born around 930, since his son Ashurnasirpal was an adult in 884, when he led a coup to displace his father. Growing up in the court of Adad-Nirari, three-quarters of his life was lived in association with Ashuruballit, until the death of the latter a decade earlier (894 BC). Apparently Ashuruballit, early in his tenure as "associate king" had made superficial repairs to the terrace, but Tukulti-Ninurta had made it "more splendid" than ever some 45 years later.

As for the translation by Grayson, the careful reader will note that he probably could not tolerate Luckenbill's translation, not on textual grounds, but because the presence of the name Ashuruballit (1352-1318) simply does not fit the context, leaving him but one alternative, namely, determining if a more acceptable alternative was available. Thus his reexamination of this section of the tablet. After all, how can a king in 885 BC be crediting a king who lived 470 years earlier with the last minor repairs to the terrace, and at the same time distinguish him from all the other unnamed kings from before his time who worked on repairs to this same terrace. Perhaps sensing this, Grayson welcomes the opportunity to replace Luckenbill's reference to Ashuruballit I with the name of a much later king. And he has every right to do so, because what remains of the name in the cuneiform text *could conceivably be translated either way*, depending on the interpretation of the barely legible remains of the end of single cuneiform sign. An explanation of that last remark is clearly in order.

While we were unable to locate online either a close up photo of the relevant section of the tablet, or a line drawing of the same, this in order to examine the text for ourselves, we can describe what we would be looking for. Grayson does provide a normalization of the cuneiform text of the entire tablet AO 4655, and he cites the name as "Aš-š[ur-bel-k]a-la" It follows that the name on the tablet was composed of five cuneiform signs aš, šur,EN (=bel), ka, and la. *The "aš" sign at the beginning and the la at the end are the only two signs that are completely legible. The "En" in the middle plus the end of the "šur" and the beginning of the "ka" are sufficiently damaged as to be illegible.* On the other hand, Luckenbill does not supply the cuneiform text nor the transcription thereof, but we do know that the name Ashuruballit is commonly transliterated as "Aš-šur ú TI-LA", the TI and the LA being logograms that together represent the Assyrian word "balāṭu". The cuneiform sign transcribed phonetically by Grayson as "la" is transcribed as a logogram (LA) by Luckenbill. *Thus the "aš" sign at the beginning and the "la" at the end are the only two signs completely legible. The ú in the middle plus the end of*

the "šur" and the beginning of the "TI" are sufficiently damaged as to be illegible. Comparing the italicized summaries of the visible and elided signs and their transcription/normalization by the two scholars we see that the few legible marks at the end of a single cuneiform sign determine and distinguish the translations of the two scholars. Luckenbill interprets that sign as "TI" and Grayson reads it as "ka". And we are denied the privilege of reading it ourselves, though on other grounds, expressed above, we prefer Luckenbill's reading of the tablet. And the reader needs to keep in mind two things as they reflect on this situation. On the one hand, almost three generations of scholars followed Luckenbill's interpretation of the text until Grayson introduced his variant. On the other hand the condition of the tablet did not improved over that lengthy interval, as this popular exhibit at the Louvre was frequently handled by museum staff.

Time to move on to the second section of this paper.

Argument #5: The Kin-Group of Arad-Ea

The upper echelon of the government of Karduniash in the 1st millennium was entrusted to families of Babylonians that had functioned in administrative capacities for centuries. Many of these family groups bore as a type of sir-name the name of the ancestral figure recognized as the progenitor of the clan. In the traditional history descent from these "kin-group" founders is often traced back for over five hundred years, or in some instances much longer, giving rise to the opinion, expressed by Brinkman and others, that the proverbial founders of some of the family dynasties were mythical or fictitious figures. That, of course, is possible, unlikely as it appears to this author, and that consideration must always be borne in mind. But not only are most of these ancestral connections traceable back to actual historic figures, most of them, including Arad-EA kin-group, the one highlighted in this paper, lasted for only several hundred years, not the half millennium or more assigned it in the traditional history. Thus we are able to diagram and discuss his named ancestors and descendants with a modicum of effort.

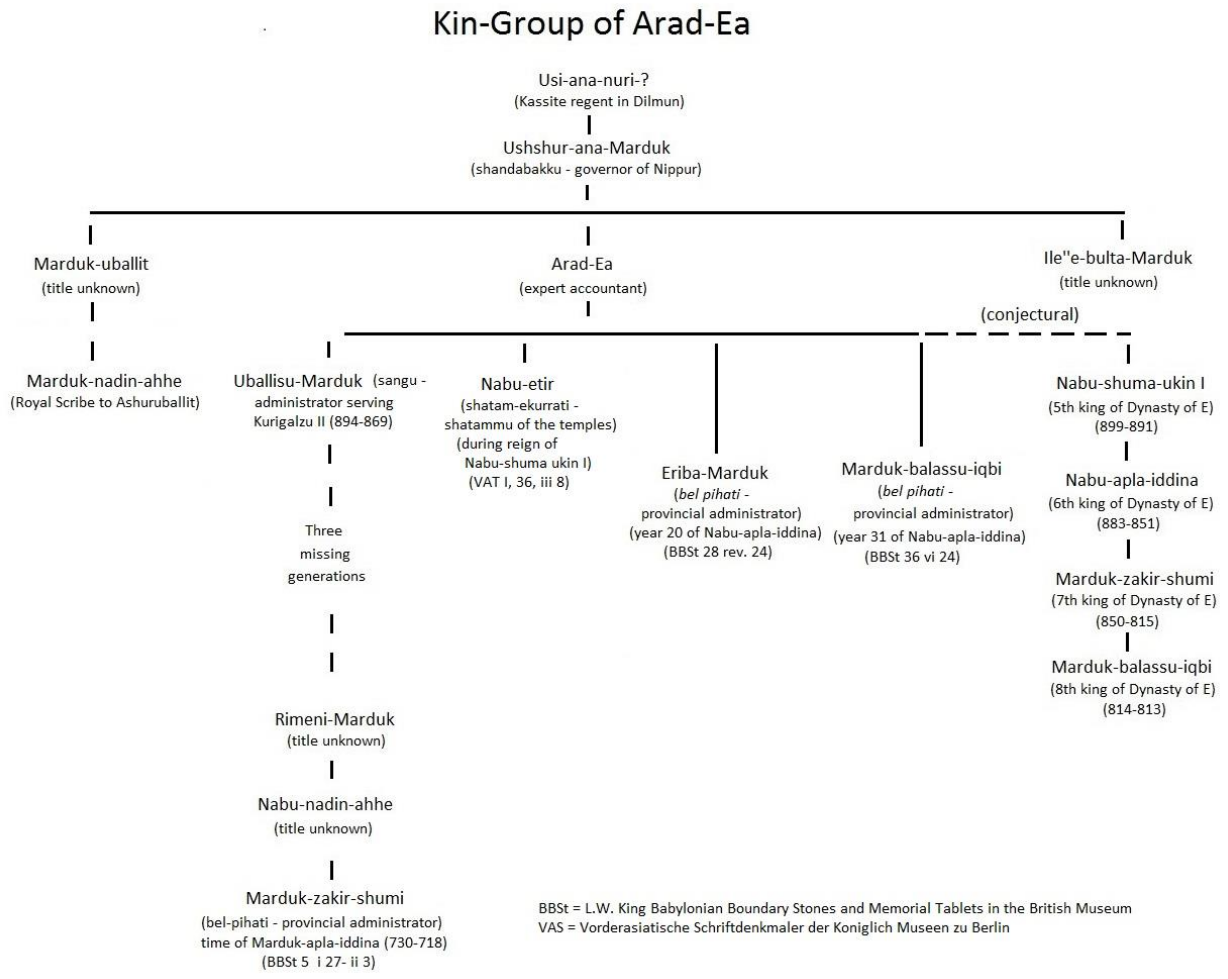
The excessive (and incorrect) length of these family dynasties results from the fact that some of the members were part of the late Kassite administration and are thus dated by the traditional history to the early 14th - 12th centuries BC, while their descendents are dated in the late 10th through to the end of the 8th centuries. When the Kassite dates are lowered by 440 years the situation changes dramatically. The officials once dated to the 14th – 12th centuries are now located in the late 10th through 8th centuries, thus in the same time frame as their supposed descendants. The length of the kin-group genealogy reduces from six hundred to two hundred years, this of course assuming the accuracy of our displaced dynasties thesis.

In the following few pages we comment on the descendants of the individual bearing the name Arad-Ea, identified in one inscription as the son of a shandabakku (governor of Nippur) named Ushshur-ana-Marduk. Why Arad-Ea, and not his influential father, is cited as the progenitor of the clan is not known, but the fact that he is cannot be denied. For reference purposes, in Figure 8 on the following page we produce a chart showing six distinct lines of ancestors who

can be identified as “sons of Arad-Ea”. In the traditional history this Arad-Ea must be dated to the early decades of the 14th century B.C., approximately the time of Eriba-Adad I (1380-1353), the father of Ashuruballit I (1353-1318), thus at the very beginning of the Middle Assyrian Period. In the revised history, he belongs approximately 440 years later, the time our late 10th century Ashuruballit (ca 930-894), co-ruler of Assyria along with Adad-Nirari II (911-891), whose reign marks the beginning of the Neo-Assyrian Period. The task at hand is determining which of these time frames is correct. But first we need to peruse the documents which produce these separate strings of descendancy.

We begin with the line of descendants of Uballisu-Marduk, son of Arad-Ea, and an administrative assistant of Kurigalzu II (894-869). This line stretches forward in time to the tenure of a *bel pihati* (provincial governor) by the name of Marduk-zakir-shumi, a contemporary of the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina I (Merodoch Baladan) (730-718) and possibly beyond, to the year 703 BC, when, for only a single month, this individual became king of Babylon.

Figure 8: Genealogical chart listing some of the descendants of the influential kin group “founder” named Arad-Ea.



We begin by examining the genealogy of Uballisu-Marduk (second column from the left in Figure 8). But first we need to briefly comment on the office of the *bel pihati*, (lit. "lord of the province") since this office is one of the hallmarks of this family group. Four individuals in our chart alone are identified as holding this office and another half dozen, not mentioned, bear the dual titles *bel pihati* and "*son of Arad-Ea*". One of these, Marduk-balassu-iqbi, a bel pihati while acting as a witness in a legal matter during the reign of his grandfather Nabu-apla-iddina (883-851), was later elevated to king, as was Marduk-zakir-shumi, whose inscription provides the genealogy we are about to examine. The importance of this office cannot be overestimated. Along with the king and the shandabakku they were clearly among the *noblesse oblige* of Babylonian aristocracy.

One of the key scholarly works on kin-groups in Babylonian society is Jon P. Neilson's "Sons and Descendants: A Social History of Kin Groups and Family Names in the Early Neo-Babylonian Period, 747-626 BC". On page 36 of that book we read concerning the *bel pihati* :

> By the Kassite and post-Kassite periods, holders of the office often acted on the part of the king in royal transactions that involved the acquisition or granting of land. In the early Neo-Babylonian corpus from Babylon the title appears simply as bel pihati or is qualified either as the bel pihati of Babylon or the bel pihati of the Esagil. As early as the Kassite period, the men who filled the office of bel-pihati frequently had the family name Arad-Ea. At least one member of this kin group who was a bel pihati was able to trace a lengthy, if broken, lineage back to the scribe Arad-Ea, segments of which appear on a cylinder seal. The frequent appearance of bel pihatis with the family name Arad-Ea and the awareness displayed by some members of their lineage indicate a remarkable degree of continuity among the Arad-Ea kin group. This continuity continued on into the early Neo-Babylonian period: Marduk-zakir-shumi, perhaps the same man as the later king, had the title bel pihati in 715; Aplaya was the bel pihati during the reign of Ashur-nadin-shumi [700-694], and Marduk-shuma-ibni was the bel-pihati of the Esagil in 626. Though the longer title used by Marduk-shuma-ibni may represent an innovation, it is notable that a member of the Arad-Ea kin group still held the position. (Neilson, Sons & Descendants, p. 36).

We will return to this quotation momentarily. But it is now time to discuss the origins of the second and first columns of our Figure 8 chart, both filled with the names of officials who supposedly held office in the 14th – 12th centuries BC.

1. Genealogy of Uballisu-Marduk, son of Arad-Ea.

The reference to a *bel pihati* named Marduk-zakir-shumi, with family name Arad-Ea, is found on a clay tablet BM 90850, translated by L.W. King in the volume entitled *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum* (BBSt 5 i 27 – ii 3). The source is a kudurru (boundary stone) of the time of Marduk-apla-iddina I (Merodoch Baladan), who, according to the traditional history, dates ca 1171-1159 BC, but who, according to our revised chronology, actually dates to the years 731-719 BC. King's translation of the appropriate section of the kudurru is provided below. The inscription records the transfer of land by Marduk-apla-iddina (I) [the son of M]eli-Shipak, king of Babylon to -

> Marduk-zakir-shumi, the provincial governor (*bel pihati*), [the inspector (?)] of temple and land, [the controller(?)] of forced labour for the upper and lower [country], the son of Nabu-nadin-akhe, whose grandfather was Rimeni-Marduk, the fourth descendant of Uballisu-Marduk, the descendant (lip lipi) of Arad-Ea, (column I line 27 - column II, line 3 in BBSt, page 26))

There exists some ambiguity in this translation. The first problem is to determine whether the phrase "whose grandfather was Rimeni-Marduk" applies to Nabu-nadin-akhe or Marduk-zakir-shumi. We have interpreted the text as saying that Rimeni-Marduk was the grandfather of Marduk-zakir-shumi. If that is incorrect we ought to introduce a missing generation between Nabu-nadin-akhe and his grandfather Rimeni-Marduk. A second problem is to determine to whom the phrase "the descendant (lip-lipi) of Arad-Ea" should be applied. Applying it to Uballisu-Marduk is problematic because, as the diagram shows, we believe that king was the son (*mar*) of Arad-Ea, not merely a descendant. Momentarily we will show that to be the case. Applying it to Marduk-zakir-shumi, would make perfect sense, leaving the genealogy as we have constructed it, but the syntax is awkward, at least in English translation.

We also need to be clear on the fact that the tablet BM 90850 is referencing the Kassite era, with dates supplied as understood by the traditional history. Thus all of the characters in the second column genealogy ought to be assigned dates in the 2nd millennium. But as yet we have no specific dates for these officials, and have decided to assign dates for the two kings mentioned, Kurigalzu II and Marduk-apla-iddina (I), as those kings appear in the revised history once their traditional dates are lowered by 440 years. Later we will have to justify that reduction of dates. In the genealogy we have mentioned the fact that Uballisu-Marduk was a *sanqu* official serving Kurigalzu II. Clearly that title derives from some other source, to which we now turn our attention.

A Wikipedia search reveals the fact that an official named Uballissu-Marduk, who began his working life as an accountant, "rose to the rank of administrator (*sanqu*) in the Kassite government of Kurigalzu II, ca. 1332-1308 BC short chronology. The principal sources for our knowledge of this individual are his two cylinder seals, which detail his religious affiliations and his illustrious genealogy". The second of these seals (BM 122696) is the source of this "illustrious genealogy". Uballissu-Marduk was the son of Arad-Ea, "scholar of accounting", the grandson of Ushshur-ana-Marduk, "governor of Nippur", otherwise known as the *shandabakku*, and the great-grandson of Usi-ana-nuri-?, regent or viceroy of Dilmun, ancient Bahrain.

It is the opinion of the author of the Wikipedia article that this Uballissu-Marduk must be identified as the ancestor by that name in the genealogy of Marduk-zakir-Marduk on the tablet BM 90850, quoted on the previous page. Thus he writes in the "Biography" section at the very end of his brief Wikipedia entry:

> Uballissu-Marduk's descendants were recorded in the genealogy of Marduk-zâkir-šumi, the bēl pīḫati, "person responsible" or provincial governor, who was the beneficiary of a royal gift of corn-land on a kudurru[i 5] in the time of Marduk-apla-iddina I, ca. 1171–1159 BC. These give Rimeni-Marduk as Uballissu-Marduk's son, Nabû-nādin-aḫē, his grandson, and Marduk-zâkir-šumi, his great-grandson.[4]

We agree with this identification, though the stated genealogy of Marduk-zakir-shumi is wrong. We also agree with his comment that "there was a rift in this family, with Marduk-nadin-ahhe, the cousin of Uballissu-Marduk, moving to Ashur to take up an appointment as royal scribe to the Assyrian king Ashuruballit". Our agreement is conditional however, since the dates of Ashuruballit are wrong. This is not Ashuruballit I, as he claims. It is the late 10th century Ashuruballit, great-grandfather of Kurigalzu II. And this move by Marduk-nadin-ahhe to Assyria to assist Ashuruballit is apparently causing a rift in the extended family.

So much for the 2nd column genealogy. It is time to examine our first column genealogy as outlined in the Memorial tablet BM 96947.

2. Genealogy of Marduk-nadin-ahhe.

This time we quote from the book "*Annals of the Kings of Assyria*" jointly authored by E.A. Wallis Budge and L.W. King, where, in an appendix on pages 388-391, Budge provides a translation of the British Museum tablet BM 96947

Obverse	Reverse
1. I, Marduk-nadin-akhe, the Scribe of the King, 2. the son of Marduk-uballit, the son of Ushshur-ana-Marduk 3. blessed by god and king, humble though exalted, 4. who maketh glad the heart of his lord, 5. a house in the shadow of the temple of Marduk, 6. my lord, have I founded. 7. And a well for fresh water 8. have I opened therein. 9. Through the supreme wisdom 10 of Marduk, my lord, the storehouse thereof 11. have I gloriously furnished, 12. and chambers of brickwork beneath it, 13. of which no man knoweth, 14. through the cunning contrivance of wisdom 15. have I added in great quantity. 16. The house in its entirety, 17. its enclosures and its . . ., 18. have I built and completed	1. [. . . . .] I have not [. . . . .] 2. May Marduk behold that house, 3. and may he grant that it may be my resting-place, 4. and for my sons, and for my sons' sons, 5. and for my seed, and for the seed of my seed 6. in the future may he stablish it fast, 7. [. . . . .] Marduk, my lord, and Sarpanitu, my lady, 8. [. . . . .] and my family 9.. [. . . . .] . . was made 10. [. . . . .] and the houses of my fathers 11. [. . . . .] . . . may they offer 12. [. . . . .] and through the command of Marduk, my lord, 13. [. . . . .] may he restore 14. [And upon] my lord, upon Ashur-uballit, 15. [who lo]veth me, the king of hosts, my lord, 16. a long life 17 may the lord of fullness and abundance 18. bestow.

One of the classic descriptions of this family group, and of the tablet BM 96947 inscription, is Franz Wiggermann, whose essay on the topic, entitled "A Babylonian Scholar in Assur" is found in R. van der Spik (ed.) *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society*, pp 203-34. We let this scholar introduce us to the genealogy and the rift in the family.

> Babylonian scholars are not normally thought of as politically relevant. One of them, however, got caught up in the power plays of his day, and chose exile in Assur above the company of his peers at home. His new employer, the Assyrian king, took pride in his Babylonian subject, and showed him off to the citizens of Assur by granting him a home in the shadow of the newly built temple of Marduk. The scholar had no choice but to be grateful, and made his loyalty public by erecting a monument of his own. This monument and its copy are the subject of the present paper.
>
> In the days of king Assur-uballit (1353-1318) there was a Babylonian quarter in the city of Assur, with a temple of Marduk, and "in its shadow" a house owned and operated by a new arrival from Babylonia, the scribe Marduk-nadin-ahhe, son of Marduk-uballit, grandson of Ussur-ana-Marduk (Text 1). (*Babylonian Scholar*, p. 203)

The mention of a "Text 1" at the end of this quote informs us that at the end of his essay, Wiggermann provides us with a translation of BM 96947. He also provides translations of the two seals of Uballissu-Marduk mentioned earlier, BM 114704 and BM 122696, his Text 2 and Text 3 respectively.

Wiggermann goes on to describe the assumed history of this Babylonian quarter and then resumes with genealogical matters:

> That Marduk-nadin-ahhe was of Babylonian descent can be deduced from the name of his grandfather, Ushshur-ana-Marduk ([Marduk] restored in Text 3). The latter "governor of E[kur]" and a son of the Kassite regent in Dilumn (Text 3, cf. Potts 2006:115f.), was apparently the founder of a Babylonian scribal house and the father not only of the otherwise unknown Marduk-uballit, Marduk-nadin-ahhe's father, but also of Ile"e-bulta-Marduk of Babylon, the author of a recipe for glass (Text 4), and of Arad-Ea, the "expert accountant" who was to become more famous than his father (Lambert 1957:11f, 2005:XIIIf.). Arad-Ea's son, the Uballissu-Marduk who left us two of the seals (Texts 2 and 3), was an official in the service of Kurigalzu II. The offices held at the Kassite court and the concentration of Marduk names in this family place its origin firmly in Babylonia.

The question now raised, and answered, is why Marduk-nadin-ahhe has left his home country to serve a foreign king. Wiggermann's opinion is shared by almost every scholar who examines the tablet BM 96947.

> In spite of his emphatically professed veneration for Marduk and Sarpanitu, Marduk-nadin-ahhe"s shift of allegiance from the Babylonian to the Assyrian king could well be construed as treason. In fact, if the passage is understood correctly, the scribe alludes to this possibility, but, in denial, inverses the indictment. In his view it is not he who has strayed by moving to Assur, but his family by staying at home; he expresses the hope that someone among his future progeny will "set [stra]ight [the relatives] and clans of my ancestors that have embraced [tre]achery". A closer look at the contemporary Assyro-Babylonian relations suggests a reason for Mardun-nadin-ahhe's righteous attitude, as well as a date for his arrival in Assur.
>
> The only incident that the chronicles consider worthy of note during the long reign of Ashur-uballit (1353-1318) is this king's blitz to Babylon in 1328 BC. According to the Synchronistic History the Kassites had rebelled against Karahardash (1328), the son of Burnaburiash II (1354-1328) and Ashur-uballit's daughter Muballit-Sheru'a, had killed him and put Nazibugash, the "son of a nobody," on the throne. Ashur-uballit reacted within the year, marched to Babylonia, executed Nazibugash, and appointed as king Kurigalzu II (1327-1303), another son of Burnaburiash II.

This incident, which features prominently in our Figure 1, provides the explanation of and justification for Marduk-nadin-ahhe's flight to Assyria. While he had been a loyal supporter of Karahardash, apparently his rebellious relatives had viewed the grandson of both Burnaburiash and Ashurbanipal with disfavor and supported the rebellious Kassites who killed him and who installed Nazibugash in his stead. Thus his flight to Assyria accompanying the Assyrian king. And according to Wiggermann

> The reason for Marduk-nadin-ahhe's move to Assur also establishes its date: the accession year of Kurigalzu II.

Wiggermann's suggested date is thus 1327, his date for the installation of Kurigalzu II. A more traditional date for that event is the year 1332. And in the revised history that date must be reduced by 440 years to 892 BC. We are sufficient close to that date in our Figure 1 that we stand by our 894 BC estimate.

It follows from this rather lengthy summary, that column 1 is based on a single tablet inscription on BM 96947 and column two results from a combination of a Babylonian kudurru BM 90850 and a cylinder seal BM 122696. All three of these documents, and thus the individuals named in them, are dated by the traditional history to the late Kassite period, i.e. to the 2nd millennium BC. But we have repeatedly argued that all Kassite dates need to be reduced by approximately 440 years, and we have written three papers (#4, #5, and #6) proving that the late Kassite kings fit perfectly in their new surroundings. We have already applied this reduction in dates to the genealogies in columns one and two of our Figure 8, determining that that the royal scribe Marduk-nadin-ahhe began serving Ashuruballit in Assyria in 894 BC (our conjectured date for the death of Ashuruballit) and Uballisu-Marduk, the sangu administrator served Kurigalzu II during his reign sometime in the time frame 894-869 BC. While we could simply "rest on our laurals" at this point and leave the revised dates "as is", we prefer to provide some proof that these dates are correct, thereby further confirming the accuracy of our 440 year reduction of dates. Our argument relies on a single name, that of Marduk-zakir-shumi on the bottom of the second column.

Proof that columns 1 and 2 belong to the late 10th – late 8th centuries

According to our prior analysis of column two, the *bel-pilati* (provincial governor) named Marduk-zakir-shumi received a grant of land from the late Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina I, whose dates in the traditional history were 1171-1159 BC. This land grant was recorded in the inscription on tablet BM 90850, and provided the context in which the genealogy of Marduk-zakir-shumi was spelled out, providing the names of three of his ancestors, plus the information that he was also a "descendant" of the kin-group founder Arad-Ea. When we subtracted the 440 years from the dates of Marduk-apla-iddina we determined that he ruled Karduniash in the approximate years 731-719 BC.

What we did not mention earlier was the fact that the name Marduk-zakir-shumi also occurs on the Babylonian King List A, dating his reign to a single month in the year 703 BC. Of significance is the fact that on both the tablet BM 90850, and on the King List, it is recorded that he is the "son of Arad-Ea", with the qualification that the King List is defective, since the "Ea" is elided. In a moment we will quote Brinkman in his opinion of the King List text.

What we also did not mention earlier is that the name Marduk-zakir-shumi also occurs in another land grant kudurru, this time as a witness. This witness is clearly identified both as a *bel-pilati* and as a "son = descendant" of Arad-Ea. This particular kudurru (VA 2663) is dated specifically to the 7th year of the reign of Marduk-apla-iddina II, whose official dates both in the traditional and revised histories are 721-710 BC. It follows that this kudurru, and the king Marduk-zakir-shumi named in its inscription, can be firmly dated to the year 715 B.C. The reader can find the name and date mentioned in our earlier quote from Neilson's book "Sons and Descendants" on page 28 above. We thus have the situation where the *bel-pilati*, son of Arad-Ea, named Marduk-zakir-shumi is mentioned three times in succession, once in the kudurru BM 90850 sometime in the time frame 731-719, once in the year 715, and once (as king) briefly in 703 B.C. And the orthography of the name Marduk-zakir-shumi is identical on all the documents. Add to that the fact that this is not a common name, and we can safely identify all three of these individuals as the same person. *This not only argues that the entire column two needs to be dated in the time frame 894-703, but it also serves to confirm that our reduction of Kassite dates by 440 years is absolutely reliable.*

We spent some time in our paper #2 (pages 27-31) discussing the names Marduk-apla-iddina I (731-719), the penultimate Kassite king, and Marduk-apla-iddina II (721-710), "king of Babylon" in the 10th dynasty of Babylon. We demonstrated at the time that Marduk-apla-iddina II must be identified as the "Merodach Baladan, son of Baladan" who sent an emissary to visit Hezekiah of Israel as described in 2 Kings 20:12 and Isaiah 39:1. The event took place during the 721-710 reign of that king. We identified Marduk-apla-iddina I as the "Baladan" in the biblical text, father of Merodach-Baladan. It is therefore no surprise that this father/son duo would both be involved with the *bel-pilati* official named Marduk-zakir-shumi, son of Arad-Ea.

When J.A. Brinkman wrote his essay entitled "*Merodach-Baladan II*" on pages 6-53 in the volume "*Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*", he commented in footnote 137 on pages 24-25 concerning the dual references to Marduk-zakir-shumi, witness on the 715 BC land-grant kudurru VA 2662 and the king by that name who ruled Babylonia briefly in 703 BC. His conclusion was that they were the same person. What he did not do was include the reference to that same "son of Arad-Ea" who received a gift of land in the kudurru BM 90850 dated by the traditional history to the reign of the 12th century king Marduk-apla-iddina I. His reasons are transparent. Under no circumstance could a 12th century BC *bel-pilati* named Marduk-zakir-shumi, son of Arad-Ea be identified with two 8th century, identically named individuals. But we are under no such constraints. When history is re-ordered correctly, it is amazing what we discover. For reference purposes we reproduce below Brinkman's footnote comment. Referring to the king Marduk-zakir-shumi he states:

> He is attested in Kinglist A iv 13: ITI 1 ^{md}ŠÚ-za-kir-MU A ^{m}ìR. The only other **probable contemporary reference** to Marduk-zakir-shumi II known to me at present is contained in the kudurru of Merodach-Baladan's seventh year, where an ^{md}AMAR UTU-za-kir-MU A ^{m}ìR-^{d}BAD LÚ EN.NAM occurs as a witness among other high officers of the realm, just twelve years before this king ascended the throne (VAS 1 37 v 2-3). The probability of two *(different)* men with the same name and such similar patronymics occurring in high official circles within these two ill-documented decades is minimal; so we may reasonably assume that king Marduk-zakir-shumi II was the son of this Arad Enlil *(=Arad-Ea)*. Consequently, the tendency to translate the "A ^{m}ìR in Kinglist A as "son of a slave"… should be allowed to die out. (emphasis and italicized words added)

The last comment in the quoted footnote is a reference to the fact that the King List identifies the king Marduk-zakir-shumi as "A" (the son of) "^{m}ÌR" (arad = servant/slave), where Brinkman is arguing that the king's name should be followed by the phrase "A ^{m}ÌR-^{d}BAD" and translated "son of Arad-Ea". Regardless, he is convinced that the two named officials refer to the same person. And while Brinkman omits mentioning our third reference we are not surprised, since the recipient of the land-grant from Marduk-apla-iddina I supposedly belonged to the 12th century. Only in the context of the revised history can we argue that he is a contemporary of the other two officials.

For interest sake alone we include below a copy of the kudurru which names Marduk-zakir-shumi as a witness. Note that this stele/kudurru contains one of the few existing images of the king Marduk-apla-iddina II (= the biblical Merodoch-Baladan").

Figure 9: Image of Marduk-apla-iddina II on the kudurru VA 2663

32. This basalt *kudurru* from the reign of King Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodach-Baladan) II (reigned *c.* 721–710 and 703 B.C.) is one of the finest of its kind. The inscription records a land grant to the governor of Babylon shown, in suitably diminished scale, facing his royal master. Although the execution is finer than usual, the iconography is traditional.

30

Analysis of columns 3-6 in Figure 8.

These final columns in our Figure 8 are provided to lend support to our late 10th-late 8th century dating of column 1 and 2, and partly to further confirm the synchronisms that exist between the Kassite and "dynasty of E" kings in Figure 1. Clearly we do not have to prove the dates listed in these four columns. They are correct from the standpoint of both the traditional and revised histories.

Columns 3-5 contain the names of three officials, one named Nabu-etir, son of Arad-Ea, a temple official during the reign of Nabu-shuma ukin I (899-891), and the other two, Eriba-Marduk and Marduk-balassu iqbi, are both identified as *bel-pilati* (provincial administrator) and "son of Arad-Ea", both holding office during the reign of Nabu-apla-iddina (883-851). From the dates cited it is conceivable that at least Nabu-etir and Eriba-Marduk might be two of the missing descendants of Uballisu-Marduk in the column 2 genealogy.

We do not include with the last two officials the name of Marduk-balassu-iqbi, the *bel-pilati* and "son of Arad-Ea" in the 31st year of Nabu-apla-iddina, simply because we believe that he was also a prince, and that he became king very briefly at the end of the column 6 succession of four father/son "dynasty of E" kings. The only evidence we have for this conjecture is the fact that another Marduk-balassu-iqbi is mentioned in an inscription dated to the 25th year of the reign of Nabu-apla-iddina. This individual is identified only as a "king's son" and not as a bel-pilati or a "son of Arad Ea". But two high ranking individuals bearing the same name, and functioning as witnesses in documents only six years apart, argues in favor of identifying them as one and the same person.

If that is not the case, and thus none of the four named "dynasty of E" kings refers to himself as a "son of Arad-Ea", then we must leave open the question whether this mini-dynasty is descended from Arad-Ea. On the other hand, if it is true that Marduk-balassu-iqbi, the 5th column *bel-pilati* and son of Arad-Ea did eventually become king, then we must assume that all four of the column 6 kings descended from Arad-Ea since Marduk-balassu-iqbi's parentage is well established. He is the son of Marduk-zakir-shumi I, the grandson of Nabu-apla-iddina, and the great-grandson of Nabu-shuma-ukin I, whose parentage is unknown. And since the dates on the chart are approximately correct, we would be remiss not to conjecture the fact that Arad-Ea is the unknown father of Nabu-shuma-ukin I.

Regardless of whether or not the sixth column remains attached to the kin-group of Arad-Ea, it certainly remains in this relative position, and the last four columns of our Figure 8 confirm absolutely the reliability of our Figure 1.

Case closed.

Paper #7 Arguments that the 10th/9th century kings of the "dynasty of E" were vassals of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Dynasty.

Arguments 6 & 7: The Shandabakku of Nippur & 3 Miscellaneous Sources

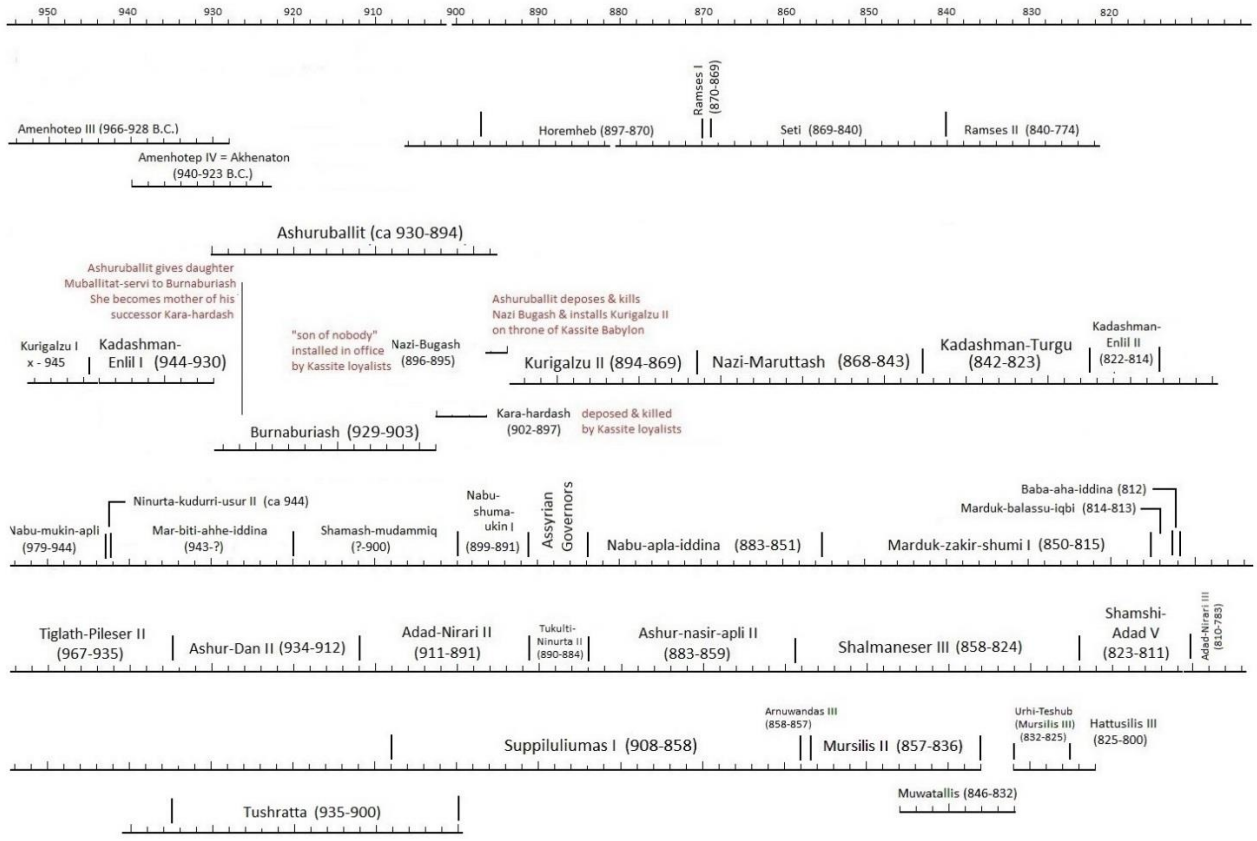
A. Argument #6: The Shandabakku of Nippur: Enlil-kidinni, Nazi-Enlil, & sons

We have, several times already, noted the fact that the Kassites did not reside in Karduniash, even after the construction of the defensive fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu. We have also mentioned the fact that neither Babylon nor Dur-Kurigalzu was the administrative capital of Karduniash, in spite of some misguided claims to that effect. The day-to-day affairs of the country were administered in Nippur, evidenced by the fact that the University of Pennsylvania excavations of that city in the late 19th and early 20th centuries yielded upwards of 12,000 cuneiform tablets and assorted inscribed artifacts, mostly economic or administrative in nature. This fact made the governor of that city, given the unique name *shandabakku* by the Kassites, an extremely important individual in the governance of the country, much less the city. In the traditional history this title endured from the latter half of the Kassite period through the post-Kassite period (1154-732), and beyond into the 7th century.

When we reduced the dates of all Kassite kings by approximately 440 years, thereby moving approximately one-half of the Kassite dynasty from the 2nd millennium into the 1st, completely overlapping the accepted dates for the "post Kassite" dynasty 4-9 "kings of Babylon", we also altered the accepted dates for the shandabakku who ruled during the Kassite period. The tenure in office of all shandabakku who served under a specific Kassite king must suffer the same fate as the king himself. Their dates must be reduced by roughly 440 years. As a result all of the 14th - mid-12th dynasty shandabakku must move forward into the mid-10th – 8th centuries, overlapping the shandabakku already functioning in those latter centuries, thus drastically increasing the number of shandabakku operative in the time frame under consideration in our present series of papers. This temporal displacement of the shandabakku was undertaken "for better or for worse," since multiple conflicts might have resulted from it, i.e. situations where a "Kassite" shandabakku and a "post-Kassite" shandabakku overlapped, to say the least an embarrassing situation for the "revised history", unless of course the two individuals have the same name and can be identified as the same person. Fortunately, the situation where two differently named shandabakku appear in the identical time frame never happens, yet another remarkable "coincidence"? or "further proof that our thesis of a mandatory 440 year reduction of dates" is accurate?

Since much of the discussion which follows focusses on the time frame 950-810 BC, we reproduce below as our Figure 1 the revised history timeline chart for this time span, borrowed from the beginning of our previous paper, and modified only slightly.

Figure 1: Revised History Timeline Chart showing the kings of Egypt, the Kassite kings of Karduniash, the vassal "dynasty of E" kings of Babylon, and the kings of Assyria and the Empire Hittites in the time frame 950-810 BC.



Our intent in this section of our paper is to examine several of the shandabakku who supposedly held office in the 2nd millennium, to see what information is forthcoming once they are thrust into a context 440 years removed. We expect to find synchronisms which confirm the accuracy of our revised history. In Table 1 following, using data provided by the online Wikipedia article on the Šandabakku, we list the known shandabakku from the Kassite and "post-Kassite" periods as viewed from the perspective of the traditional history. In Table 2 we reduce Kassite dates by 440 years and list the results. Discussion will follow.

Table 1: List of the known shandabakku officials governing Nippur during the Kassite and Post-Kassite periods as understood by the traditional history.

During the Kassite period (ca 1600-1154 BC)			During the post-Kassite period (1154-732 BC)	
Amilatum	father of Enlil-bani (uncertain date)		Nusku-zera-iddina	(Nabu-shumu-libur year 1 or 1033 BC)
Uššur-ana-Marduk	son of Usi-ana-nuri) (uncertain position in sequence, but early)		**Nazi-Enlil**	(during Marduk-zakir-shumi's reign, 855-819 BC)
Ninurta-nadin-ahhe	son of Enlil-bani (from Kadashman-Enlil I until Burna-Buriash, 1359-1333 BC)		Enlil-apla-usur	Son of Nazi-Enlil (during the reign of Marduk-balassu-iqbi, 814-813 BC)
Enlil-kidinni	son of Ninurta-nadin-ahhe (from Burna-Buriash, through Kurigalzu II, 1332-1308 BC, until early Nazi-Maruttash, 1307-1282)		Kudurru	(during the reigns of Nabu-nasir, 747-732 BC, and Nabu-mukin-zeri, 731-729 BC)
Enlil-alsa	son of Enlil-kidinna (attested in Nazi-Maruttash year 8, 1300 BC		Eteru and Ereshu	(around the time of Kudurru)
Uzi-Shul[gab]	(during Nazi-Maruttash' reign)		?Shuma-iddina	(executed by Esarhaddon in his sixth year, 675 BC)
Nazi-Enlil	(during Nazi-Maruttash' reign)		Enlil-bani	Shamash-shum-ukin's seventh year, c. 660 BC
Ninurta-apla-iddina	son of Nazi-Enlil (Nazi-Maruttash or later, Kadashman-Turgu, 1281-1264 BC, Kadashman-Enlil, 1263-1255 BC)		Enlil-shapik-zeri	(apparently of surru near Uruk and not actually Nippur, during the reign of Nabu-kudurri-usur II, 634-562 BC)
Kadashman-Enlil II	(1263-1255 BC)		Nabu-shumu-eresh	(during the reign of Nabu-na'id, 556-539 BC)
Amil-Marduk	(from Kudur-Enlil, 1254-1246 BC, until Shagarakti-Shuriash' reign, 1245-1233 BC)		Shiriktu-Ninurta	(from last year of Nabu-na'id [539 BC] until the accession year of Darius I [522 BC])
Enlil-zakir-shumi	(during the reign of Adad-shuma-iddina, 1222-1217 BC)			
Enlil-shuma-imbi	Son of Daian-Marduk (during the reign of Adad-shuma-usur, 1216-1187 BC)			

Table 2: List of the known shandabakku officials governing Nippur during the overlapping Kassite/dynasty 4-9 period, as understood by the revised history.

During the combined Kassite/dynasty 4-9 period.				
			Nusku-zera-iddina	(Nabu-shumu-libur year 1 or 1033 BC)
Amilatum	father of Enlil-bani (uncertain date)			
Uššur-ana-Marduk	son of Usi-ana-nuri) (uncertain position in sequence, but early)	x		
Ninurta-nadin-ahhe	son of Enlil-bani (from Kadashman-Enlil I until Burna-Buriash, 919-893 BC)			
Enlil-kidinni	son of Ninurta-nadin-ahhe (from Burna-Buriash, through Kurigalzu II, 892-868 BC, until early Nazi-Maruttash, 867-842)	x		
Enlil-alsa	son of Enlil-kidinna (attested in Nazi-Maruttash year 8, 860 BC			
Uzi-Shul[gab]	(during Nazi-Maruttash' reign)			
Nazi-Enlil	during the reign of Nazi-Maruttash (867-842)	x	**Nazi-Enlil**	During the reign of Marduk-zakir-shumi (855-819 BC)
Ninurta-apla-iddina	son of Nazi-Enlil (Nazi-Maruttash or later, Kadashman-Turgu, 841-824 BC, Kadashman-Enlil, 823-815 BC)	x		
Kadashman-Enlil II	(823-814 BC)			
		x	Enlil-apla-usur	son of Nazi-Enlil (during the reign of Marduk-balassu-iqbi, 814-813 BC)
Amil-Marduk	(from Kudur-Enlil, 814-806 BC, until Shagarakti-Shuriash' reign, 805-793 BC)			
Enlil-zakir-shumi	(during the reign of Adad-shuma-iddina, 782-777 BC)			
Enlil-shuma-imbi	son of Daian-Marduk (during the reign of Adad-shuma-usur, 776-747 BC)	x		
			Kudurru	(during the reigns of Nabu-nasir, 747-732 BC, and Nabu-mukin-zeri, 731-729 BC)
			Eteru and Ereshu	(around the time of Kudurru)
			?Shuma-iddina	(executed by Esarhaddon in his sixth year, 675 BC)
			Enlil-bani	Shamash-shum-ukin's seventh year, c. 660 BC
			Enlil-shapik-zeri	(apparently of surru near Uruk and not actually Nippur, during the reign of Nabu-kudurri-usur II, 634-562 BC)
			Nabu-shumu-eresh	(during the reign of Nabu-na'id, 556-539 BC)
			Shiriktu-Ninurta	(from last year of Nabu-na'id [539 BC] until the accession year of Darius I [522 BC])

Our Table 2 provides an extremely convincing demonstration of the accuracy of our revised dating of the shandabakku. What are the odds of transporting twelve individuals 440 years into the future and having them mesh so perfectly with the occupants of their revised time frame? So convincing is this aspect of our analysis of the shandabakku that we are tempted to leave the issue as is. Not only is the listing of the holders of this office now complete for the entire mid-3rd through 9th Babylonian dynasties, beginning with Amilatum, the first holder of this office early in the reign of Kurigalzu I, but we also encounter a rare instance wherein one holder of the title in the "Kassite" period is synchronized with himself, now functioning as a shandabakku in the post-Kassite period. We will discuss the situation of Nazi-Enlil in due course.

Apart from the case of Nazi-Enlil we find only a few other instances where Kassite shandabakku can be *definitively* synchronized with their new 1st millennium contemporaries, but these few instances, added to the mention of Nazi-Enlil, should be sufficient to convince our most ardent critics that our revised dating of the Kassite shandabakku is accurate. Our intent in the next few pages is to itemize most of the 10th/9th century Kassite officials in our Table 2, and provide comment that secures their 1st millennium provenance. But before we begin that process we need to briefly discuss the case of the one shandabakku whose appearance is somewhat of an anomaly in our Table 2. In a moment we will argue that the office of shandabakku was initiated by Kurigalzu I, following his rebuilding of that city beginning around the year 970 B.C. It follows that the "post-Kassite" shandabakku named Nusku-zera-iddina, who supposedly held office in the year 1033 BC, over sixty years prior to the beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu I (revised dating), during the brief reign of the vassal king Nabu-shuma-libur, is "out of place." The naming of a shandabakku functioning at the very end of the 11th century is not just an anomaly, it is a serious mistake. Momentarily we will argue that this individual lived at the very end of the 9th century BC, and that he was a son of the shandabakku Nazi-Enlil. But he himself never held that office and consequently should be removed from our Tables 1 and 2. A brief analysis of the evidence in support of these facts needs to be included here.

The misplaced "Shandabakku" Nusku-shuma-libur

The Wikipedia article related to the king named Nabu-shum-libur informs us that very little evidence attests this king's existence, much less provides details of his reign. According to that article the one inscription detailing an action undertaken by him took place in his first regnal year. We quote the relevant passage:

> Tablet BM 139424 "details the reimbursement of Nusku-zêra-iddina, the šandabakku, or governor of Nippur, with land, after he ransomed a man named Mudammiqu from the "enemy". The price was paid in kind, with the text listing various items provided by the purchaser with their cash equivalent, for a total of 420 shekels.

A photo of this tablet is shown below in Figure 2. The only readily accessible source providing details of the text is the 1983 article by Sylvie Lackenbacher entitled "Ventes Des Terres A Un "

'Šandabakku' Sous La II[e] Dynastie d'Isin" in *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* Vol. 77, No. 2 (1983), pp. 143-154. The best online source of this article is JSTOR 23282184.

Figure 2: Photo of the Tablet BM 139424

We are concerned in this paper with only a single line of text in this inscription, one repeated several times on the tablet. The line in question identifies the "shandabakku?" named Nusku-zera-iddina as the individual who is being reimbursed by the king for monies expended in rescuing/ransoming Mudammiqu from the "enemy". The transliteration and translation provided by Sylvie Lackenbacher reads:

^{md}NIN.NUMEN.sì-na DUMU ^{m}na-zi-^{d}en-lil GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI
Beltu-zera-iddina fils de Nazi-Enlil gouverneur de Nippur
= Beltu-zera-iddina son (of) Nazi-Enlil šandabakku (of) Nippur

The fact that Lackenbacher translates ^{md}NIN.NUMEN.sì-na as Beltu-zera-iddina and not as Nusku-zera-iddina, as do other scholars, is immaterial. And it is also irrelevant that she translates GÚ.EN.NA as "gouverneur" rather than "šandabakku", its more usual translation. After all, the term šandabakku is a specialty term referring to a governor of a specific city, in this case Nippur. Thus we have absolutely no quarrel with the translation. What we do object to is the fact that in the discussion which follows she attributes the title GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI to Beltu-zera-iddina, rather than to Nazi-Enlil. To be fair, Lackenbacher does acknowledge in note 26 on page 147 that grammatically the title could be applied to either person, but in the traditional history, of which she is an adherent, Beltu-zera-iddina, who lived ca. 1033 BC, could not possibly be the son of the Kassite shandabakku Nazi-Enlil, who lived in the days of Nazi-Maruttash (1307-1282). And while DUMU can mean "descendant" it is unlikely that a descendancy that remote would be cited in this context. But the problem of descendancy does not exist in the revised history, as we point out in the following paragraph. And the other reasons cited in the footnote on page 147 do not carry much weight. We reproduce the footnote below in Figure 3. Let the reader decide its value.

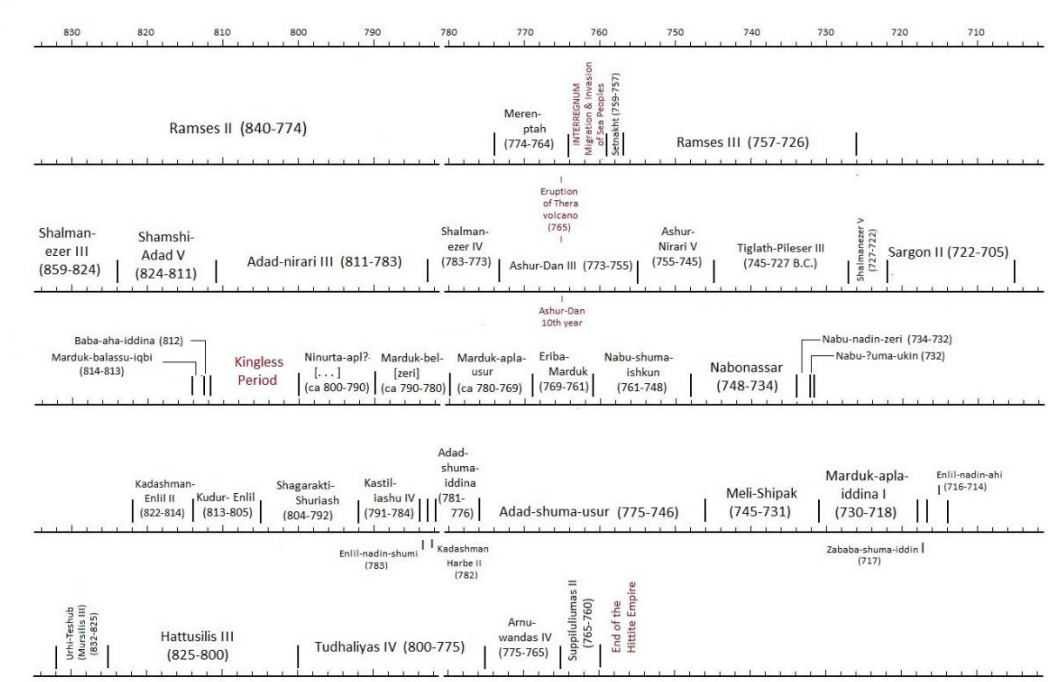
Figure 3: Footnote explaining the rationale for attributing the title "shandabakku" to Beltu-zera-iddina, rather than to Nazi-Enlil.

26. C'est la première attestation du *šandabakku* sous la IIe dynastie d'Isin, cf. Brinkman, *PHPKB* 297, n. 1949. Le problème est de savoir qui est *šandabakku* car, devant une formulation de ce type, il est parfois difficile de déterminer si le titre se rapporte au père ou au fils ; bien que la clause finale (Rs. ll. 28-30) puisse faire penser que Nazi-Enlil était le personnage important, l'acheteur n'étant plus (l. 30) que « le fils de Nazi-Enlil », je pense que GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI se rapporte à Beltu-zera-iddina, comme c'est le cas pour les témoins, tous appelés NP_1 *mâr* NP_2 + titre (ce n'est pas toujours le cas dans les textes parallèles, cf. *BBSt*, p. 21) et pour Enlil-nadin-šumi *mâr* Na[zi-Enlil?? D'après King, il manque 3 signes mais la planche VI ne permet pas de lire quoi que ce soit] GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI, dont le rôle paraît bien le même que celui d'Enlil-šuma-imbi, fils de Daian-Marduk *nešakku* d'Enlil, GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI (cf. *BBSt* 10 s., ll. 18-19 et 45-47). Voir aussi *BBSt*, p. 43, l. 8 s., et 49, A4 s. et B3 s., où le titre de *sukallu* s'applique évidemment au fils.

Granted the fact that the title "shandabakku" more reasonably belongs to Nazi-Enlil, one problem yet remains, this time for the revised history, where the shandabakku Nazi-Enlil is identified as a contemporary of both the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttash (867-842) *and* the "dynasty of E" vassal king of Babylon Marduk-zakir-shumi (855-819) (see Figure 4 below). Assuming that our individual Beltu/Nusku-zera-iddina was a son, and not a more distant descendant of this Nazi-Enlil, then the incident described in BM 139424 must have taken place late in the 9th century. The critic will then surely protest that no king by the name Nabu-shumu-libur is known to have existed in the late 9th century. In fact, the late 11th century king is the only king known to have borne that name in the entire Near Eastern world. How then do we explain the presence of this royal name in our tablet inscription? The problem actually has a simple solution though admittedly that solution does involve a number of hypotheticals. And it will require a brief summary of late 9th century Babylonian history.

To facilitate our discussion of the history in question we reproduce on the next page our Figure 4 timeline chart, duplicated from an earlier paper, and modified slightly to bring it up to date. We are particularly interested in the dozen years lying between the end of the brief reign of the "dynasty of E" king Baba-aha-iddina (812 BC) and the beginning of the reign his successor Ninurta-apl?-[…] around the year 800 BC, a time frame known to scholars as the "kingless period", as indicated on the chart. The brief reigns of both Marduk-balassu-iqbi (814-813) and his successor Baba-aha-iddina (812) had been cut short by campaigns launched by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V, whose reign witnessed a resurgence of Assyrian aggression against its southern neighbor. Both Babylonian kings were deported (and probably killed) by Shamshi-Adad, introducing a prolonged period during which no "king of Babylon" ruled the country.

Figure 4: Timeline showing the overlapping Kassite kings of Karduniash and "Dynasty of E" kings of Babylon in the approximate time frame 820-732 BC .



According to J.A. Brinkman, in a section of his *Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* entitled "Years of Chaos":

> After the capture of Baba-aha-iddina, the campaigns of Shamshi-Adad V continued yet another year against Babylonia. For the year 811, the eponym chronicle records that the Assyrian army went "to Babylon"; but we have no other account of this campaign. Babylonia, exhausted by four successive Assyrian campaigns (two of which had culminated in the deportation of the reigning sovereign to Assyria), seems to have lapsed into a state of anarchy.
>
> We have little information bearing on the political history of either Babylonia or Assyria during the years which elapsed between the deportation of Baba-aha-iddina and the accession of Eriba-Marduk. The New Babylonian Chronicle states that "for x years there was no king in the land", and there is a text dated in "the fourth year in which there was no king in the land." The synchronistic kinglist KAV 13 and the Dynastic Chronicle reveal the names of three kings who followed this alleged kingless interval: Ninurta-apl?-[x], Marduk-bel-[zeri], and Marduk-apla-usur. Very little is known about any of these rulers; and only one known text is dated during their reigns, a small economic text from the reign of Marduk-bel-zeri. (Brinkman, PKB, p. 213.)

The reader is possibly curious why the Assyrians, following the capture and deportation of Baba-aha-iddina, thus throughout the "kingless period" and beyond through a succession of three kings so weak they have left practically no record of their existence, did not simply take over Karduniash and incorporate it as a province of the expansive Assyrian Empire. The traditional history has no reasonable answer to this problem, but we know the reason. The term "kingless period" refers only to the absence of any "dynasty of E" king governing the whole of Karduniash on behalf of the still powerful Kassite kings. The Kassites, as indicated by our Figure 4, remained the overlords of the country throughout this approximately forty year time frame (811-770*)*, despite the several setbacks. The fact that the Kassite king Kudur-Enlil (813-805) and his immediate successors decided to forgo the practice of ruling the country via a single "king of Babylon" is immaterial. The fact is that they did. It appears that in the central part of the country the "shandabakku" and existing "governors" of the other provinces replaced the "king", and on the fringes of the country, and especially in the Chaldean regions of the south, tribal leaders assumed control, all likely subservient to the Kassites. The sparse information forthcoming from this period does seems to support this conjecture. The case for the shandabakku and other governors as replacements for the "kings of Babylon" will be visited again near the conclusion of this paper.

This historical interlude provides the likely answer to the one remaining issue which confronts us in this section of our paper. We conjectured earlier that Nusku-zera-iddina, son of the shandabakku Nazi-Enlil, must be dated to the late 9th century and that therefore the king Nabu-shumu-libur, who compensated him for expenditures incurred in ransoming the captive Mudammiqu (according to tablet BM 139424), must also be dated in that same time frame. We are therefore most fortunate that our timeline provides ample space wherein this king may well be positioned. The fact that the tablet inscription is dated in this king's 1st year, and that no other information attests his existence, supports our conjecture that his "reign" was brief and probably limited in scope.

It is interesting that Brinkman does briefly discuss several of the Chaldean kings who may have exercised limited authority in this "kingless period" and/or beyond, two of whom were from the Chaldean region in extreme south.

> But about this time, probably between 820 and 770, may be dated the inscriptions of Nabu-shumu-lishir, a member of the Dakkuru tribe, and Marduk-shakin-shumu, a member of the Jakin tribe, both of whom might have been among the "kings of Chaldea" spoken of in the Assyrian sources pertaining to the time of Shamshi-Adad V and Adad-nirari III; whether these chieftains ever ruled over northern Babylonia is uncertain. (Brinkman, PKB, 262).

The name Nabu-shumu-lishir transcribed by Brinkman is of particularly interest. The transliteration of the cuneiform actually reads ^{md}PA-MU-SI.SÁ where Brinkman assumes that Sumerian SI.SÁ here represents the Assyrian verb ešēru and transcribes accordingly. He is probably correct, but the possibility remains that SI.SÁ also represents one of the verbs bâru, abāru, or ebēru which various scholars have assumed to be the basis of the phonetic spelling of the verbal element "li-bur" typically employed in the orthography of the name Nabu-shumu-

libur. At minimum the name tells us that Nabu-shumu-libur could well have originated from the Chaldean region of Karduniash.

We leave the matter there and proceed to briefly examine a dozen of the shandabakku in our Figure 2, all of whom lie within our designated late-10th/9th century time frame.

1) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Amilatum

We know almost nothing about this individual save for his approximate date. The only reference to him is contained in the inscription on the back of a dog figurine inscribed at the direction of a priest named Ninurta-reṣúšu, šatammu (high priest?) of the E-u-gal under king Nazi-Maruttaš. The inscription reads in part:

> Ninurta-reṣúšu, šatammu of the E-u-gal, royal šatammu of Enlil, son of UD-Delebat, nešakku of Enlil, descendant of Enlil-bani, mayor (rabanum) of KUR.TI, scion of Amilatum, šandabakku of Nippur.

The dog figure (shown below) is being offered to the female deity "Gula, the sublime lady, the mother of the gods" as a gift, seeking the favor of the goddess on behalf of "the life of Nazi-Maruttaš, king of the world".

Figure 5: the dog figure (BM 81-7-1,3395) which provides the genealogy of Ninurta-reṣúšu, son of UD-Delebat, descendant of Enlil-bani, son? of Amilatum, šandabakku of Nippur

The sections quoted are reproduced from the only transliteration and translation of the dog inscription readily accessible to this author, that of Edmond Sollberger in an article entitled "Two Kassite Votive Inscriptions" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (Jan-Mar), (1968): 191–197 (see JSTOR 597914), referenced at the bottom of the Wikipedia article on the shandabakku. The article is best obtained from the JSTOR online site (free if you sign up and read online).

Our interest in the dog inscription is primarily with the dating of the earliest two of the four named individuals. There are multiple indications in the text that confirm that both held office at the very beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu I. And since we have already consumed six papers proving that the reign of Kurigalzu I must have begun around the year 970 B.C., it follows that this shandabakku named Amilatum must be dated in that general time frame.

The mere fact that Amilatum holds the office of shandabakku informs this author that he dates no earlier than the initial years of Kurigalzu I, who is noted for his extensive building activities throughout Karduniash, and particularly for his work at the site of Nippur. In the opinion of multiple scholars, when Kurigalzu I came to office the city of Nippur lay in ruins and had been virtually deserted for decades, if not much longer, the result of raids by the Arameans, particularly the Sutean branch of that ethnic group. Kurigalzu's repairs not only refurbished the damaged structures, they literally brought the city back to life. This king transformed it into the administrative capital of Karduniash, which explains why almost none of the 12,000 inscribed tablets excavated at the site by the University of Pennsylvania are known to have originated prior to his reign. Early in his reign, while building work on his fortress city Dur-Kurigalzu was in its initials stages, Kurigalzu I set-up the administrative structure of the city, headed by the *shandabakku*, who not only governed the secular province of Nippur, but also at times functioned as the "chief priest", the "*nešakku* of Enlil". In the following decades those two titles were at times held by two different officials, and often the shandabakku and the "nešakku of Enlil" were father and son respectively. Apparently, at the death of the father the son took his father's office. It is not clear if the *shandabakku* named Amilatum was also the nešakku of Enlil, since typically references to these dignitaries only cite one of the titles held by the individual, and not necessarily the one that we might consider the most prestigious.

The reference to Enlil-bani, mayor (*rabanum*) of KUR.TI, also dates to the beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu I, lending credence to the opinion of many that this official was the son of Amilatum. The conclusive factor in this dating is the mention of KUR.TI, the logographic orthography sometimes employed to reference the ancient village/city of Parsa, the site on which Kurigalzu I constructed his namesake fortress city Dur-Kurigalzu. We have encountered this name multiple times in previous papers, and will not belabor the point here, except to say that the name Parsa was never employed as an alternative name for the fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu, once the construction of the city was completed. It follows that Enlil-bani's tenure as mayor of Parsa must have begun prior to the completed construction of the Kassite fortress. There does exist a "land grant" terra-cotta cone inscription, which exists in two copies (BM 91036 and BM 135743), inscribed several decades later by Kadashman-Enlil I, that informs us that this same Enlil-bani, presumably after the construction of Dur-Kurigalzu (which would have made the title "rabanum of KUR.TI" obsolete), had been elevated to the position of nešakku of Enlil.

2) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Uššur-ana-Marduk

We include this name only to provide confirmation of the dating of the shandabakku listed in our Figure 2. The habitual reader of these papers will recognize the name from the chart in Figure 8 on page 30 in our previous paper, where we diagrammed a few ancestors and descendants of a certain Arad-Ea, who lived in the last quarter of the 10th century and was the "founder" of an extremely influential kin-group. Ussur-ana-Marduk, the *shandabakku* of Nippur, was the father of this Arad-Ea. That earlier discussion of the Arad-Ea kin group provided convincing evidence that we were dealing with individuals who lived and functioned in the upper echelon of Babylonian society in the late 10th through to the end of the 8th centuries BC., and the shandabakku Ussur-ana-Marduk was convincingly shown to have held office late in the reign of Kurigalzu I and/or early in the reign of Kadashman-Enlil I. It follows from that kin-group chart, and the dating of Uššur-ana-Marduk contained within it, that we are completely justified in assigning 9th/8th century dates to the dozen or so shandabakku that follow Uššur-ana-Marduk in our Table 2 above.

3) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Ninurta-nadin-ahhe

This shandabakku was the son of Enlil-bani, almost certainly the same individual named above in our discussion of Amilatum. The clay cones which mentioned the land-grant to Enlil-bani made during the reign of Kurigalzu I were actually set up by Kadashman-Enlil I confirming or memorializing the fact that the land under consideration now belonged to a descendant of Enlil-bani, presumably his son Ninurta-nadin-ahhe, who had by this time inherited not only the land owned by his father, but also the title of shandabakku inherited from his grandfather. Unfortunately the name of Ninurta-nadin-ahhe is not preserved on the cone inscriptions. For that information we must turn to another inscription.

Brinkman, in his *Materials and Studies for Kassite History* (1976) p. 110 briefly discusses a white marble vessel (CBS 12), an object possibly intended for use in a water ritual, bearing "a damaged twenty-seven-line Sumerian inscription. According to Brinkman (note 38) the object was a gift "for the life of Burnaburiash, and the donor, named in line 10, should probably read [^{md}NIN.I]B(!)-na-di-in-ŠEŠ.ŠEŠ (= Ninurta-nadin-ahhe) whose titles are given in lines 11-12:

> [NU.ÈŠ] ^{d}EN.LÌL [GA.DU]B.BA.A EN.LÌL^{KI}
> (= nêšakku (of) Enlil, shandabakku of Nippur).

This inscription not only informs us that the office of shandabakku has become an inherited title, but also that Ninurta-nadin-ahhe's tenure as shandabakku overlapped a large portion of the reigns of both Kadashman-Enlil I and Burnaburiash II.

4) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Enlil-kidinni

From the Wikipedia article related to Burnaburiash II we learn that

> Kassite influence reached to Bahrain, ancient Dilmun, where two letters found in Nippur were sent by a Kassite official Ilī-ippašra in Dilmun to Ililiya, a hypocoristic form of Enlil-kidinni, who was the governor, or *šandabakku*, of Nippur during Burna Buriaš's reign and that of his immediate successors. In the first letter, the hapless Ili-ippašra complains that the anarchic local Aḫlamû tribesmen have stolen his dates and "there is nothing I can do" while in the second letter they "certainly speak words of hostility and plunder to me".

We are not surprised to learn that the Kassites were in control of the region of Dilmun in the days of Burnaburiash II, since that region, bordering the sea now known as the Persian Gulf, was not far removed from the southernmost regions of Karduniash. That officials belonging to the two Kassite dependencies corresponded with a shandabakku in Karduniash is to be expected. It is the timing of this correspondence that is at issue in this paper. The traditional history dates this correspondence sometime during the reign of Burnaburiash II (1359-1333). In the revised history the dates for this Kassite king, and thus the two letters under consideration, lies in the time frame 929-903 B.C. Which is correct?

It is known from multiple other sources that the Assyrians, at least at times during the 1st millenium, were sovereign over the lands of Meluhha and Dilmun, both regions lying on the western shores of the Persian Gulf. Apart from the two letters referenced above, and one named official discussed briefly in our previous paper, absolutely nothing is known about Kassite domination of this same area over four hundred years prior. The one official we refer to appears at the top of our "Kin-Group of Arad-Ea" chart in our paper #6 (Figure 8 on page 30). His name was Usi-ana-nuri-? and all we know about him is that he functioned as the Kassite regent in Dilmun approximately mid-way through the 10th century BC, this assuming that we have correctly dated the dignitaries who appeared in that "family-tree". It is certainly relevent that both Usi-ana-nuri-? and Ilī-ippašra were functioning either during or shortly prior to the reign of Burnaburiah II. If one is firmly dated to the mid-to-late 10th century BC, then so is the other. Fortunately there does exist at least one other letter that synchronizes the shandabakku Enlil-Kidinni with another king, this time fortuitously with an Assyrian. His name – Adad-Nirari II.

From the Wikipedia article referencing the šandabakku we read:

> The **most prominent of** the *šandabakku* officials were Enlil-kidinni, who corresponded[i 3] and exchanged gifts with the Assyrian crown prince Enlil-nirari,[4] if his name has been correctly restored[5], and Amil-Marduk around a hundred years later.

Clearly we take exception to this statement which, taken at face value, appears to synchronize the term in office of the shandabakku Enlil-Kidinni with the Assyrian "crown prince" Enlil-nirari. Since Enlil-Nirari ruled Assyria ca. 1327-1318, the document in question is thus being dated (by the traditional history) to a time shortly prior to 1327 BC. And we know why. Assuming that

the letter was authored by the shandabakku Enlil-kidinni, whose term in office overlapped the reign of Burnaburiash II (1359-1333), and that the letter in question was authored by a prince whose name ended with "ninari", scholars had no other choice but to assume that the Assyrian correspondent was Enlil-nirari, writing probably a decade or so prior his becoming king. But we also notice the cautionary addendum "if his name has been correctly restored" and the footnote reference which follows the mention of the name Enlil-nirari. That footnote is informative, referring as it does to a contrary opinion expressed by J.A. Brinkman in the Apr-Jun 2004 issue of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* **124** (2): 283–304 who argues against the identification of recipient and to a lesser exent even the author of the correspondence

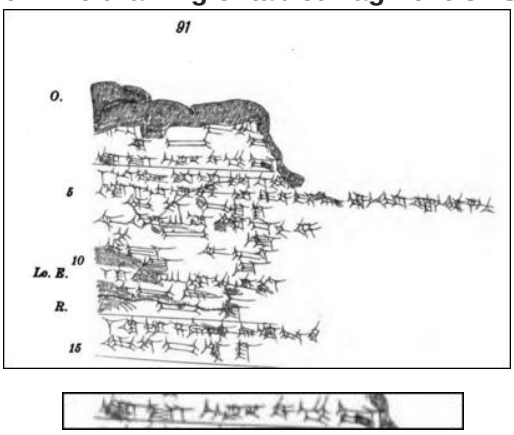
Brinkman totally disagrees with the translation of the name "Enlil-nirari" as the Assyrian author of the correspondence in question, and even has issues, though less so, with the identification of the Kassite recipient. According to him the Assyrian name ?-nirari on tablet fragment CBS 19796 = BE XVII no. 91. *cannot* be identified as Enlil-nirari.

> Collation of CBS 19796 (BE 17 91), line 1' shows the suggested reading [??][.sup.I]i[??]-li-[li-ia] to be highly unlikely (the i- and -li- would have to be extraordinarily elongated and the remaining signs then pushed over the edge of the tablet). Line 3': the name of the writer is unclear; neither von Soden's [.sup.d]EN.TI! nor Sassmannshausen's [.sup.d]En-lil! fit the traces of the theophoric element.

For the sake of readers with some familiarity with Assyrian cuneiform we reproduce below in Figure 6 a copy of the line drawing #91 on plate 64 of Hugo Radau's 1908 volume entitled *Letters to Cassite Kings from the Temple Archives of Nippur*. Our interest lies primarily in the 3rd line of cuneiform text which we have duplicated and reproduced in isolation below the tablet inscription. It is unfortunate that we are unable to find a photograph of the tablet to determine the accuracy of this line drawing. But as it stands we appear to be justified in reading the cuneiform text as ^{d}Adad-nirari, though the dinger sign preceding the logogram for "Adad" has merged with that sign creating one unintelligible sign, particularly so since only traces of the original stylus impressions remain on the weathered surface of the clay tablet. Assuming that the reading *is* Adad-nirari, as we believe, then in keeping with our revised timeline, the king with whom Enlil-kidinni corresponded must, in all likelihood, be identified as Adad-nirari II (911-891), thus corroborating our revised dating of the shandabakku Enlil-Kidinni in Table 2 above. The only possible alternative identification of the Adad-nirari on line 3 of CBS 19796 is Adad-nirari I (1305-1274), but this king is too far removed from the time of Burnaburiash (1359-1333) to qualify as an acceptable alternative identification, even if Adad-nirari was a prince. Thus our claim that CBS 19796 establishes a synchronism between Burnaburiash II and Adad-nirari II.

Let the reader evaluate the strength of the argument.

Figure 6: Line drawing of tablet fragment CBS 19796



[d]Adad-Nirari

7) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Nazi-Enlil

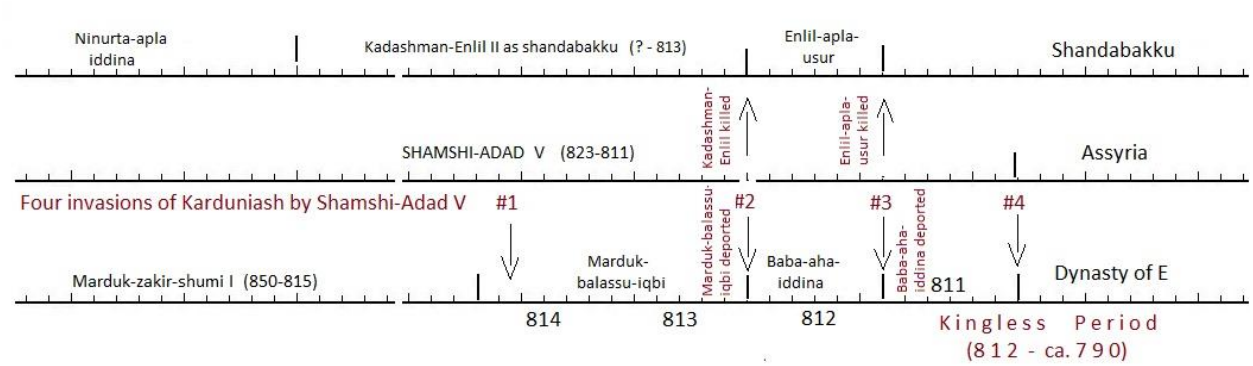
In the introductory section of this paper we mentioned the fact that when the revised history reduced the dates of all shandabakku by 440 years it faced the possibility that the tenures of some of the shandabakku belonging to the Kassite dynasty might conceivable occupy the same space assigned to a shandabakku from the time of the dynasty 4-9 "kings of Babylon". That, of course, would have provided a major interpretive problem for the "revised history", unless of course the two overlapping shandabakku had the same name and were arguably the same person. A glance at Figure 2 should convince the reader that we have been most fortunate. Not only do the two columns "mesh" perfectly, but the only instance of overlap does in fact involve two Nippur governors with precisely the same name, the same lengthy term in office, and the same inclination to pass the title "shandabakku" on to offspring. The fact that the two columns blend so perfectly is in fact a "stand-alone" argument supporting our "revised history." In the real world this perfect correspondence simply would not and could not happen. It is only when historical events are restored to their rightful chronological position that events like this "miraculously" slide into place.

The strength of the argument based on the overlapping occurrences of shandabakku named Nazi-Enlil increases exponentially when we add to the discussion the names of their sons, Ninurta-apla-iddina and Enlil-apla-usur. That discussion follows.

8) The two Shandabakku, both sons of Nazi-Enlil, named Ninurta-apla-iddina and Enlil-apla-usur.

According to our Table 2 a shandabakku named Ninurta-apla-iddina, son of Nazi-Enlil, served during the reigns of Kadashman-Turgu (842-823) and Kadashman-Enlil II (822-814 BC) and a shandabakku named Enlil-apla-usur succeeded him and governed Nippur for a single year during the extremely brief reign of Baba-aha-iddina (812). Between these two shandabakku the king Kadashman-Enlil himself reigned briefly, taking over the office following the death by natural causes of Ninurta-apla-iddina (date of death unknown). In our next section we will examine the governorship of Kadashman-Enlil, extend his reign by a single year, and argue that he died in 813 when the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V invaded Karduniah and deposed the king Marduk-balassu-iqbi, the predecessor of Baba-ahu-iddina. Enlil-apla-iddina then replaced Kadashman-Enlil as shandabakku, and died the next year (812 BC) when Shamshi-Adad V invaded Karduniash again, this time deposing Baba-ahu-iddina, an event we discussed earlier in this paper. In Figure 7 below we add a timeline to assist the reader is following this somewhat complex sequence of events.

Figure 7: Timeline of the four campaigns of Shamshi-Adad V against Karduniash



The scenario described above is, of course, in part hypothetical, but in our revised chronology it explains every anomaly, and will perhaps be more palatable to the reader after he/she examines the following section describing the role played by the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil II. In this section we are concerned only with the two shandabakku Ninurta-apla-iddina and Enlil-apla-usur, both sons of a shandabakku named Nazi-Enlil, one supposedly living in the first half of the 13th century BC, and the other in the second half of the 9th century, separated by approximately 440 years. The first of the shandabakku sons took office immediately following the death of his father Nazi-Enlil 1 in the first half of the 13th century BC and held the office for approximately 30 years. The second took office approximately 30 years after the death of his father Nazi-Enlil 2 in the second half of the 9th century BC. When we applied our reduction of 440 years to the dates of Nazi-Enlil 1 and his son Ninurta-apla-iddina, not only did Nazi-Enlil 1 roughly overlap the reign of Nazi-Enlil 2, but the reign of his son fit perfectly in the gap between

Nazi-Enlil 2 and his son Enlil-apla-usur. Add to that correspondence the fact that our reduction of dates by 440 years was predetermined, not contrived to create this meshing of chronologies. And in the real world this absolutely unprecedented synchronism of father/son genealogies could not possibly happen by chance. The presence of the two Nazi-Enlils and the spacing of their respective sons, all functioning as governors of Nippur is absolutely compelling evidence that our thesis of a 400 year reduction of Kassite dates is correct.

Let the reader decide.

9) The king Kadashman-Enlil II (as shandabakku).

It is curious, to say the least, that a Kassite king would briefly function as a governmental official in a vassal state, even if the "shandabakku of Nippur" was the second most powerful resident individual in the country, next only to the reigning "king of Babylon." Equally curious is his early demise, his reign lasting only eight years, from 822-814. We believe that both of these events can be explained with a single stroke, by examining the historical context of his reign. And by doing so we will at the same time by synchronizing his reign with that of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad, opposite whom he appears on our Figure 1. In the case of Kadashman-Enlil II, his extreme youth at the time of death of his father Kadashman-Turgu necessitated the appointment of a surrogate named Itti-Marduk-balatu to assist in oversight of the Kassite realm. According to the Wikipedia article related to this time frame:

> He [Kadashman-Enlil II] succeeded Kadashman-Turgu as a child and political power was exercised at first by an influential vizier, Itti-Marduk-balatu, "whom the gods have caused to live far too long and in whose mouth unfavourable words never cease", according to Hattusili III. The vizier seems to have adopted a sharply antagonistic position towards the Hittites, favoring the appeasement of their belligerent Assyrian northerly neighbor.

We have previously noted this synchronism between the reign of Kadashman-Enlil II and the Hittite king Hattusilis III (see paper #2), though it deserves a second mention here. What we did not mention in that earlier discussion was the likelihood that the youth of the Kassite king, in conjunction with his early demise, was a likely contributing factor to the turmoil in Karduniash, and the onset of the "leadership troubles" in the "kingless period" which followed.

We are probably correct when we associate the youth of the king and his installation as shandabakku, second in command of the vassal state of Karduniash, a perfect training ground for a neophyte king. And of course we cannot discount the probability that Itti-Marduk-balatu had aspirations of his own, and probably found it convenient to send the boy-king "off to school, so to speak". We believe that Kadashman-Enlil's sojourn in Nippur did not last for long, and that he likely died in 813 BC, leading the army resident in Karduniash in defense the vassal state. His opponent, assuming the correctness of our revised timelines, could have been none other than the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V.

We have placed the death of Kadashman-Enlil II in the year 814 BC, but there is some wiggle-room in that dating, and 813 BC is certainly a viable alternative. And near the beginning of this paper we discussed the fact that Shamshi-Adad V (823-811), early in his reign, turned from "friend to foe" vis-à-vis Karduniash. Though reasons for this reversal of position are unknown, and seldom discussed in the traditional history, we believe they probably had something to do with the temperament of Itti-Marduk-balatu, whose behavior not only irked the Hittite king Hattusilis III, but apparently antagonized Shamshi-Adad V as well. And in a series of four campaigns, two during the reign of Marduk-balassu-iqbi (814-813), one during the reign of Baba-aha-iddina (812) and one at the beginning of the "kingless period" in 811 BC., he devastated his southern neighbor, defeating, deporting, and likely killing the two named Babylonian kings. It is very likely that Kadashman-Enlil II died in the 813 attack, perhaps by then at most twenty years old.

10) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Amil-Marduk

In our Table 1 we listed this shandabakku as having held this office through the reigns of Kudur-Enlil (814-806) and into the reign of Shagarakti-Shurish (805-793), this following the Wikipedia author of the Šandabakku entry. As such he is the last of the named shandabakku who governed Nippur from the middle of the 10th to the end of the 9th centuries BC, the period under consideration in this paper, and is therefore last entry in our section A. But we need to qualify the Table 1 entry somewhat, since in fact this individual actually functioned first as a sheriff GÙ-EN-NA during the reign of Kudur-Enlil, and appears to have been elevated to the rank of GU-EN-NA (shandabakku) only during the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash. Hugo Radau, in his volume of *Letters to Cassite Kings from the Temple Archives of Nippur* (1908), produces several documents referencing Amil-Marduk as sheriff, and in his comments on one of these, on page 134, he remarks:

> From B.E., XIV, we furthermore learn that Amel-Marduk lived during the 5th and 8th year of Kudur-Enlil, "the beginning of the reign," and the 8th, 9th, and 10th year of Shagarakti-Shuriash. As sheriff (GÙ-EN-NA) he had, of course, a prison (ki-li, B.E. XIV, 135:3)… he was "the Lord's (EN-NA) strength (GÙ)," as such acting "for (or in place of) the King," ina muh LUGAL, p. 84, note 9.

A few sentences later Radu goes on to say …

> Amel-Marduk seems to have advanced to the office of a GU.EN.NA [= shandabakku] from that of amelu SAG.LUGAL [=alternative designation of the sheriff]. In the latter position he is mentioned during the 6th and 7th year of Shagarakti-Shuriash. …

This correction has been mentioned for only one reason. It does raise the question: Who was functioning as shandabakku during the reign of Kudur-Enlil? We have earlier suggested that during the "kingless" period which began in this king's reign, Kudur-Enlil decided not to install the traditional "king of Babylon", instead leaving the governance of the country to a combination of governors (of which the shandabakku would be one, even if not accorded the

distinction of a unique title) and tribal princes/kings. If so, then this new governmental structure explains the absence of a named shandabakku. We are clearly speculating, but it is curious that the reign of Kudur-Enlil is the only one for which the name of a shandabakku has yet to be discovered. We leave this matter here.

One last item of interest concerns the shandabakku Amil-Marduk. Brinkman, in his *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, pp 391-393 produces a transliteration and translation of clay tablet UM 29-16-340 in his text #24, reproduced below.

> Decree which Amil-Marduk, governor of Nippur, in the presence of Ninurta-reṣúšu, mayor of Nippur, PN, province prefect, and PN_2, son of Kilamdi-Ubrias, issued to Esagil-līdiš, the herald of Nippur. If Nādinu, son of Batija, should go out by the Gate of X (or) the Gate of Ninlil or any of the gates of Nippur and they should see him among the J(outside) troops, Esagil-līdiš shall not be held blameless, (but) shall be interrogated. His sealed tablet was deposited in the cutody of Kiribti-Marduk, son of Ulagin [ ] . . . .
>
> Month of Dumuzu, third day, tenth year of Šhagarakti-Šhu[riaš]. Seal of Esagil-līdiš. (Brinkman, MSKH, 392)

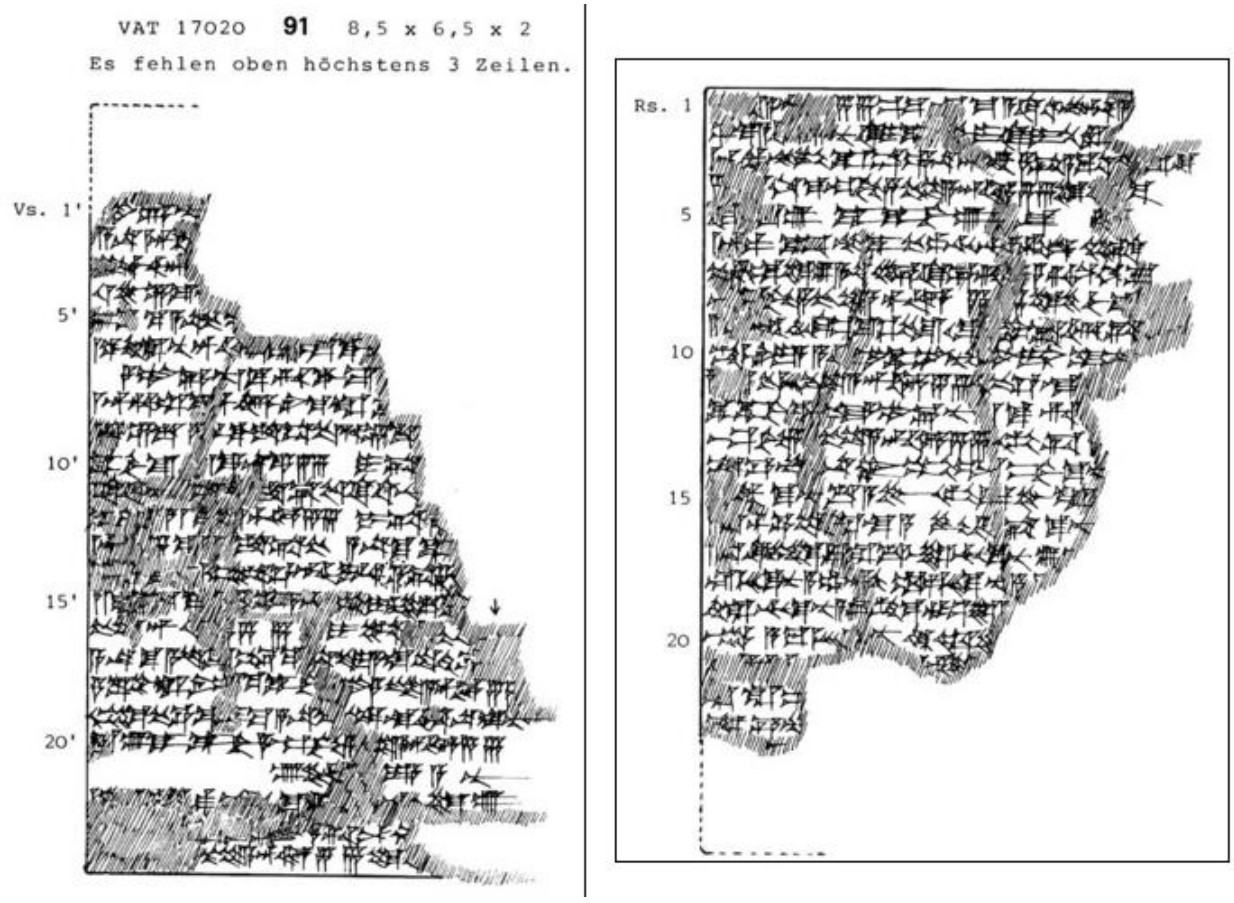
Although multiple other inscriptions name the shandabakku Amil-Marduk, most are mundane description of dealings with lower strata Babylonian workers and none furnish any datable events save this one clay tablet inscription, which is for the most part non-descript. Only one feature of this tablet is even remotely noteworthy – the fact that it makes mention of a dignitary named Ninurta-reṣúšu, mayor of Nippur, whose name is identical to the šatammu (high priest?) of the E-u-gal (temple) under king Nazi-Maruttaš, discussed briefly in our initial section dealing with the shandabakku Amilatum. Since all of the relatives of the earlier Ninurta-reṣúšu also held high office in Nippur it is highly likely that this mayor is a descendant member of this influential clan. This in turn reminds us of the hereditary nature of these positions of influence, and this mention of Ninurta-reṣúšu reminds us also that many of this clan named their children after notable ancestors. One heretofore undiscussed instance of this phenomenon is worth mentioning in passing. In our discussion of the shandabakku Ninurta-apla-iddina in point #8 above we omitted mention of the fact that this shandabakku may well be the source of the name of the first of the three kings who are credited with ruling Karduniash following the kingless period that ran from 812-800 (see Figure 3). We recorded the later king's name, known only partially from a single inscription, as Ninurta-apl?-[…]. In the traditional history the Kassite shandabakku Ninurta-apla-iddina belonged to the early 12th century and could not possibly be related to the 8th century Ninurta-apl?-[…]. But in the revised history they clearly are related, functioning in their respective roles only a few decades apart. This is not a strong argument in favor of our reduction of dates, but it is well worth mentioning.

B . Three arguments from miscellaneous sources: Shutruk-nahhunte (VAT 17020), Rabâ-ša-Marduk (BM 90936), and Baba-aha-iddina (VAT 15420).

1) The Shutruk-nahhunte (Elamite) letter (VAT 17020)

The Kassite kingdom ended with a whimper when the last two Kassite kings, Zababa-shuma-iddin (717) and Enlil-Nadin-ahi (716-714) succumbed to raids on Karduniash by the Elamite ruler Shutruk-nahhunte and his son Kutir-nahhunte (see Figure 3 above). We discussed the incident briefly in our 4th paper, including mention of a lengthy letter (VAT 17020 = VS 24, 91 = BE 13384), authored by Shutruk Nahhunte, addressed to the Kassite court, presumably shortly after the death of Marduk-apla-iddina (730-718), and the installation of Zababa-shuma-iddin (717) as his replacement. We reproduce below as our Figure 8 photos of the obverse and reverse of the letter. Unfortunately as yet we have failed to locate any transliteration and translation of the text, and must discuss the contents via secondary sources.

Figure 8: Obverse and Reverse of tablet VAT 170



Obverse Reverse

The letter notes the fact that Shutruk-nahhunte had previously written the Kassite court, offering his services as a replacement, presumably for Marduk-apla-iddina, expressing his grievance at the lack of response to his offer, detailing his long-standing connections with Kassite royalty, and threatening retribution for the distain with which his offer was received.

> Why I, who am a king, son of a king, seed of a king, scion of a king, who am king (?) for the lands, for the land of Babylonia and the land of [E]lam, descendant of the eldest daughter of the mighty King Kurigalzu, (why) do I not sit on the throne of the land of Babylonia? I sent you a sincere proposal; you however have granted me no reply: you may climb up to heaven – [but I'll pull you down] by your hem; you may go down to hell – [but I'll pull you up] by your hair! I shall destroy your cities, dem[olish] your fortresses, stop up your (irrigation) ditches, cut down your orchards, [pull out] the rings [of the sluices] at the mouths of your (irrigation) canals …(Shutruk Nahhunte? Letter to the Kassite court. (Quoted in the Wikipedia article related to Zababa-shuma-iddin referenced above).

Shutruk-Nahhunte's offer was in fact legitimate. At the time of writing, approximately 717 BC, he and his immediate ancestors had been allied with the Kassites, largely through marital ties, for at least a century and a half.

We summarized these facts on page 24 in our 4th paper by quoting the comments in the Wikipedia article on Kurigalzu I regarding the Shutruk-Nahhunte letter:

> A Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text which takes the form of a letter now located in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, is addressed to the Kassite court by an Elamite King and details the genealogy of the Elamite royalty of this period. Apparently, he [Kurigalzu II] married his sister to the Elamite king Paḫir-iššan, the son of IgeHalki, and a daughter to his successor, Ḫumban-numena. This may have been Mishim-ruh, who is cited in royal inscriptions. The princess went on to bear Untash-Napirisha, the next king who was destined to marry Burna-Buriaš' daughter. The author of the letter is thought to be Shutruk-Nahhunte, ca. 1190-1155 BC, who claims descent from Kurigalzu's eldest daughter and also wed the eldest daughter of Meli-Šipak, the 33rd Kassite king. *Unfortunately the letter inserts Nabu-apla-iddina (888 – 855 BC) "an abomination, son of a Hittite", into the narrative in the place one might have supposed that Marduk-apla-iddina I was to appear, the substitution of dAMAR.UTU by dAG being an unlikely slip of the stylus, making a chronological conundrum and this may be the purpose of the "letter", to denigrate the later king through the tongue of the earlier one.* (italics added)

In a recent article by Jeremy Goldberg entitled "The Berlin Letter, Middle Elamite Chronology and Sutruk-Nahhunte I's Genealogy", published in *Iranica Antiqua* 39 (2004): 33-42 and recently uploaded to the Academia website, the genealogy of Shutruk-Nahhunte, as presented in the Elamite letter, is diagrammed. The flow chart is reproduced below as our Figure 9. We are in total agreement with this outline, save for the dates included, all of which need to be lowered by approximately 440 years.

Figure 9: Genealogy of Shutruk-nahhunte
as outlined in his letter to the Kassite court (VAT 17020)

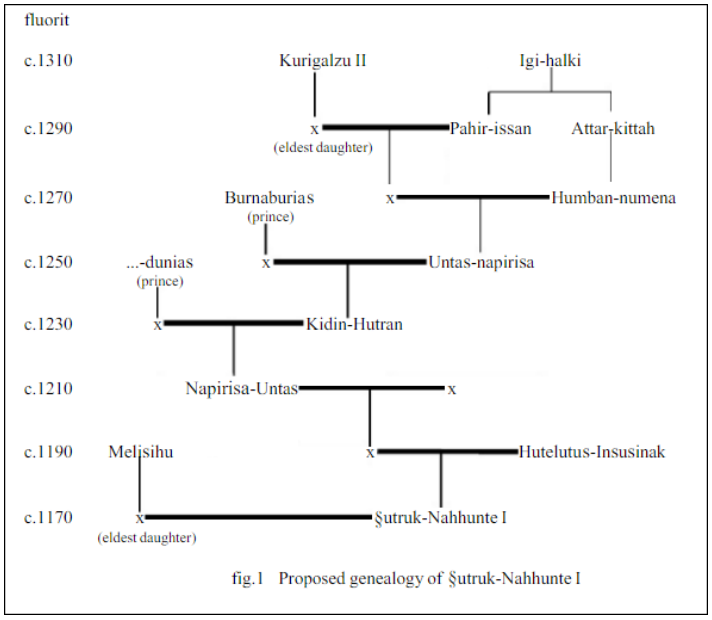


fig.1 Proposed genealogy of §utruk-Nahhunte I

Our interest in the Shutruk-nahhunte letter is emphasized in the italicized portion of the previous quote, which notes that the letter contains a reference to a king *Nabu-apla-iddina (888 – 855 BC),* who in the text is referenced as *"an abomination, son of a Hittite".* In our fourth paper we did remark on the fact that this supposed "anachronism" is a strong argument in favor of our revised history, since the 9th century "dynasty of E" king by this name could not possibly be referenced in a letter authored by an Elamite king around the year 1159 BC. We did not belabor the point at the time because as yet we had not introduced the "dynasty of E" kings into our timeline. We remedy that omission here.

As the reader will note in our Figures 1 and 3, in the revised history timeline the "anachronism" disappears. The Shutruk-nahhunte letter, written around the year 718 B.C., which traces the Elamite-Kassite diplomatic marriages back in time over 150 years to the days of Kurigalzu II (894-869), easily encompasses the time of the "dynasty of E" king Nabu-apla-iddina (883-851). The slight difference in dates assigned to the latter king in this paragraph and the previous one were explained earlier in our paper #5.

Without exception every scholar who has examined the tablet VAT 17020 argues that it was written in neo-Babylonian cuneiform, though without exception it is described as a late copy of the original 12th century letter. If we are correct the tablet is not a late copy. We are dealing instead with the original letter. And of considerable interest in this regard is the fact that the Kassite court apparently did receive Shutruk-nahhunte's original request and did issue a response to it. The response is described briefly in an article entitled "KBo 28: 61-64 and the

Struggle over the Throne of Babylon" authored by Itamar Singer. Several of the relevant pages can be viewed online here. We quote below a brief section from pages 230-31 of that article:

> The text VAT 17020 (= VS 24, 91) from the Berlin Museum, which was published by J. van Dijk (1986: cf. Freydank 1991a: 29, n. 9), is a late copy of a royal letter sent from Elam to the great ones of Babylon. The name of the sender is lost, but it should be either Kutir-Nahhunte (van Dijk 1986: 166) or his son (sic ?) Shutruk-Nahhunte (van de Mieroop 2004: 176 f.). The Elamite ruler claims the right of succession to the throne of Babylon as the offspring of the daughter of the Great King Kurigalzu and as the husband of the daughter of Melishihu [= Meli-Shipak]. *He cites several precedents for dynastic marriages between Elamite kings and Babylonian princesses in order to convince his correspondents that the legitimate succession to the Babylonian throne should pass through the Elamite-Babylonian union.* The Babylonian answer to this letter is preserved in one of the so-called "Kedor-laomer Texts" in the British Museum. In it the elders of Babylon reject the Elamite claim quoting a series of metaphors underlining the absurdity of such a Babylonian-Elamite coexistence, e.g.: "Can cattle and a rapacious wolf come to terms with one another? (italics added)

Three "precedents for dynastic marriages" are cited in Shutruk-nahhunte's letter in support of the legitimacy of his claim to the Kassite throne. These include the mention of Nabu-apla-iddina referred to above. But not only is this name an argument for the accuracy of our revised history, so also are the other two. Again we use the Itamar Singer analysis to introduce the topic.

> Scholars have raised justifiable doubts about the historicity of these literary compositions (e.g. Brinkman 2004: 292), but one has to admit that the author of the "Elamite letter" had a good knowledge of the Babylonian line of succession, going back as early as Kurigalzu (I). In some details he is even more reliable than the author of Chronicle P (van Dijk 1986: 165; Lambert 2004: 201). He must have had access to historical sources and the information provided by him on three negative precedents in which the Babylonian throne was imprudently given to Non-Elamite descendants may contain a kernel of truth.
>
> The name of the first "villain" is very damaged (l. 25), and though his description as "the one who took Babylon, but whose reign until the present day has not been acknowledged" (ll 26-29) would best fit Tukulti-Ninurta, the remaining traces would seem to better fit Kash[tiliash] or some other name (van Dijk 1986: 168). The second "villain" is Adad-shuma-usur (ll.30-32), who will be discussed in detail below, and the third is "Nabu-apal-iddina", the son of a Hittite woman (DUMU KUR Hat-ti-ti), an abomination for Babylon, a Hittite (KUR Ha-at-tu-ú) whom you have chosen for the neglect (?) of Babylon and have placed on the throne of Babylon; his sin, his misdoing, his contempt and his … you have experienced … " (ll. 33-36; van Dijk 1986: 161 f., 168). (Singer, p. 231)

We understand the reluctance of Babylonian scholars to accept the legitimacy of both the "Elamite letter" and the "Kedor-laomer response text". The historical allusions contained in these documents calls into question the legitimacy of the traditional history. Attempts are made to minimize the damage, but to little avail. For the most part the documents are simply ignored, or alluded to but abruptly dismissed. This is especially so in the case of the mention of the king Nabu-apla-iddina. The explanation made in the second quoted paragraph of this section of our paper, to the effect that "*the substitution of ^{d}AMAR.UTU by ^{d}AG being an unlikely slip of the stylus, making a chronological conundrum and this may be the purpose of the "letter", to denigrate the later king through the tongue of the earlier one"* is a case in point. This suggestion amounts to a claim that an early 7th century neo-Babylonian "scribal copyist"

has emended a 12th century document in order to denigrate a 9th century king. For what possible reason, we cannot fathom. The idea is ludicrous. Let the reader decide. And Itamar Singer's reasoning is equally confusing. He simply assumes, with no justification whatever, that the name, though legitimate, does not refer to the 9th century king bearing that name, in spite of the fact that no other king by that name is known to exist, whether of Kassite or Babylonian ethnicity. Thus we read, again on page 231 of his article:

> We know absolutely nothing about this alleged king of Babylon whose mother was a Hittite (princess?). But we know of course that the political alliance between Hatti and Babylon was cemented by several dynastic marriages in the 14th-13th centuries BCE. In Dur-Kurigalzu a fragment of a letter was found in which a Hittite king addresses a queen of Babylon, who could well be a relative of his. Therefore, one should not dismiss this reference out of the hand and one should at least take into consideration of the possibility of a claimant to the Babylonian throne of mixed Babylonian-Hittite blood.

In fairness to the Wikipedia author, to Itamar Singer, and to J.A. Brinkman, we note that they have no alternative but to react negatively to the Elamite letter. It absolutely calls into question the reliability of the chronology of the traditional history. Singer is at least correct in his assumption that the Dur-Kurigalzu letter fragment may refer to the Hittite princess who gave birth to Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Nabu-shuma-ukin, whose wife is now known to have been a Hittite princess, thanks to the document VAT 17020. Singer's problem is the confused chronology of the traditional history. He presumes, incorrectly, that Dur-Kurigalzu existed in the 2nd millennium BC where traditional scholars are compelled to date the Elamite letter, and are thus compelled to locate a king named Nabu-apla-iddina.

No further comment is necessary with respect to the king Nabu-apla-iddina, but we do need to comment briefly on the other two named "kings". Two of the three "villains" named and/or described by Shuttruk-nahhunte are not only easily located on our Figure 1 chart, all three appear in the identical chronological order in which they are named in the Elamite letter, beginning with Tukulti-Ninurta II (lines 25-29) and ending with Nabu-apla-iddina (lines 33-36). The central character, Adad-shuma-usur (lines 30-32) is not visible, but he lurks in the background, and this character warrants an entire page in Singer's article. We conclude this section with a paragraph or two of our own concerning him.

Itamar Singer, and virtually all other scholars who have examined the Elamite letter, assume that the name Adad-shuma-usur refers to the Kassite king by this name, whose reign is dated (1216-1187) in the traditional history, partially overlapping the reign of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). The errant synchronism was caused by the mention of a prince bearing this name being proclaimed king "in the stead of his father" in the 4th column of the Chronicle P, at the end of a seven year occupation of Karduniash by an Assyrian King Tukulti-Ninurta, assumed to be Tukulti-Ninurta I by traditional scholars. Beginning with our 4th paper, and continuing in almost every paper since, we have had cause to protest this indefensible interpretation of the Chronicle P, arguing instead that the Tukulti-Ninurta mentioned there should be identified as Tukulti-Ninurta II, and the Adad-shuma-usur who took office at the end of his seven year occupation of Karduniash was an otherwise unknown Babylonian prince, not the Kassite king bearing that same name. We absolutely refuse to revisit that issue again in this

paper, save to mention the fact that we spent a good deal of time in our last paper distinguishing Adad-shuma-usur the Babylonian prince, and Adad-shuma-usur the Kassite king, whose reign we have transported 440 years into the future. That king can be found in our Figure 3 chart with dates 775-746.

The Babylonian prince Adad-shuma-usur should theoretically have appeared in our Figure 1, since he did rule briefly in the 7th and final year of the 7 year period in which ASSYRIAN GOVERNORS ruled Karduniash on behalf of Tukulti-Ninurta II. He is not named in our Figure 1 because his brief reign was apparently only a regional event and not recognized in the king-lists and synchronous histories. He was apparently superseded immediately as the "occupation" ended and Nabu-apla-iddina, the 3rd "villain" named in the Elamite letter was installed by the Kassite overlords. Shutruk-nahhunte appears to have had a good grasp of history, unerringly choosing a period when three consecutively ruling "villains" named Tukulti-Ninurta I (890-884), Adad-shuma-usur (884) and Nabu-apla-iddina (883-824) claimed sovereignty over Karduniash, each illegitimate in some respect.

The single page consumed by Itamar Singer in examining the "villain" Adad-shuma-usur is preoccupied with discussion of the king's ancestry, this because the Elamite letter names this king's father. We quote below the relevant lines of transliteration and translation from Singer's paper:

> (30) ^{md}Adad-šuma-uṣur mār ^{m}Du-un-na-^{d}[Ṣ]-ah šá aḫi (GÚ) ^{ID}Puratti^{KI} (31) šá [tal-q]a-nim-ma ina ^{GIŠ}kussī māt Kar-an-dun-iá-àšš tu-š[e-ši]-ba (32) k[i-i$^{?}$ š]u$^{?}$-ú mār mārti ú-qat-t[a-x]
>
> Adad-šuma-uṣur, son of Dunna-^{d}[Ṣ]ah, from the riverbank of the Euphrates, whom you have chosen and placed on the throne of Babylon, h[ow h]e destroy[yed] the son of the daughter!

The claim is made in the Elamite letter that Adad-shuma-usur is the son of a certain Dunna-Şah, which Singer claims is a Kassite name, though the examples he cites have different orthography of the theophoric element, and that same element on the Elamite letter is clearly not totally legible. We believe the name is neither Babylonian nor Kassite and likely belongs to one of the tribal groups within Karduniash, perhaps Chaldean. In the previous paper, in the absence of any mention of the father of Adad-shuma-usur, we hypothesized that this prince, named in the 4th column of the Chronicle P, was the son of the "dynasty of E" king of Babylon Nabu-shuma-ukin I, who immediately preceded the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II and was likely deposed and killed by the Assyrian king. We are informed differently by the Elamite letter, and are now convinced that his father's name was Dunna-[?]ah, the theophoric element yet to be determined, as is the nationality of this "usurper." The name is equally problematic for Singer, and generally speaking, for all adherents of the traditional history, who continue to believe that this Adad-shuma-usur is the Kassite king by that name, in spite of the fact that this Kassite king is known to be the son of Kashtiliashu IV. Singer consumes most of page 232 of his article attempting to discredit the sources which identify the Kassite Adad-shuma-usur as the son of Kashtiliashu, this for obvious reasons. As it stands line 30 of the Elamite letter argues persuasively that the Adad-shuma-usur named in the 4th column of the Chronicle P is not the Kassite king bearing that name, which was the point of our discussion in our previous paper.

And if that is true, then the entire edifice of the traditional history is destroyed in an instant. The Adad-shuma-usur, son of Dunna-[?]ah, in the Elamite letter is as devastating for the traditional history as is the presence of the 9th century king Nabu-apla-iddina.

2) Rabâ-ša-Marduk (BM 90936)

This prominent public servant was a contemporary of three Kassite kings Nazi-Maruttash, Kadashman-Turgu, and Kadashman-Enlil II, the dynasty of E vassal king of Babylon Nabu-apla-iddina, and the Hittite king Hatussilis III. The connection with Nabu-apla-iddina derives from the land-grant kudurrus BM 90936 and BM 90922; the connection with the Hittites is based on assorted Hittite documents. Assuming that all of these document relate to the same man, he is thus synchronized with four of the five timelines on our Figure 1 chart. Clearly there is need to examine his life, albeit briefly.

According to the traditional history, from around the beginning of the reign of Nazi-Maruttash (1307 BC) through to the beginning of the reign of Kadashman-Enlil II (1263 BC), thus for over forty years, one of the most prominent, influential (and controversial) public servants in Karduniash was a physician named Rabâ-ša-Marduk (written henceforth without the diacritical accents as Raba-sha-Marduk). His name is so unique that the Wikipedia article related to this individual draws attention to that fact by commenting that

> Another Rabâ-ša-Marduk was governor of Isin but this was not until the reign of Nabu-apla-iddina, around four hundred years later.

The reference to the second individual named Raba-sha-Marduk is derived solely from the land grant kudurrus noted in our first paragraph, where one of the witnesses to these legal document is named “Enlil-shuma-ibni, son of Raba-sha-Marduk, governor of Isin” (see col ii, lines 8, 9 on the first kudurru; lines 19 and 20 on the reverse of the second), leaving the reader a grammatical conundrum – does the title “governor of Isin” apply to the first named individual, Enlil-shuma-ibni, or the second, Raba-sha-Marduk? The Wikipedia author has clearly decided the issue for himself, and he applies the title to Raba-sha-Marduk. The majority of scholars choose the second alternative, decidedly the more typical way of interpreting such witness descriptions, though the reader may recall that in our opening pages, when we encountered a similar situation involving a witness named “Nusku/Beltu-zera-iddina, son of Nazi-Enlil, governor of Nippur” that we argued precisely the opposite, applying the title of shandabakku to the father, not the son. In this instance we surmised, based on a variety of factors, that the Raba-sha-Marduk on these two tablets was the same person as the well-known Raba-sha-Marduk, a contemporary of the 13th century kings Nazi-Maruttash through to Kadashman-Enlil II and a number of Hittite king including Hatussilis III.

One of those "factors" is the fact that, with the mandatory 440 year reduction of dates for all Kassite kings, the beginning of the reigns of Nazi-Maruttash and Kadashman-Enlil, 1307 and 1263 BC respectively in the traditional history, reduce to 868 and 822 in the revised history, thus positioning the "medical practice" of this Raba-sha-Marduk in the time frame 868-822 B.C, overlapping the reigns of the "dynasty of E" kings Nabu-apla-iddina 883-851) and his successor Marduk-zakir-shumi (850-815). This fact alone, in combination with the uncontested fact that the two kudurrus named earlier, BM 90936 and BM 90922, both originate from the reign of Nabu-aplu-iddina, is sufficient to identify the 13th and 9th century dignitaries bearing this unusual name as one and the same person. It is true that the name of this king is obscured on the first tablet – only the ending "iddina" is clearly visible – but the context is clear enough that scholars are convinced of the dating of the document. The second tablet confirms that dating, since it is also witnessed by "Enlil-shum-ibni, son of Raba-sha-Marduk, governor of Isin" (rev. lines 19,20), but in this instance the document is specifically dated to the twentieth year of Nabu-apla-iddina, ie. the year 864 B.C., which would be the 5th year of Nazi-Maruttash according to our revised dating of this Kassite king. The curator of the British Museum further confirms the dating of both tablets, noting that both are witnessed by "Enlil-shum-ibni, son of Raba-sha-Marduk, governor of Isin", and although on the tablet BM 90936 the king wears a different form of headdress to that in which he is represented on BM 90922, "on both tablets he carries a staff and the arrangement of the text upon the tablets, and the close resemblance of the characters may be cited in favour of the identification.

We include below photographs of the tablets in question.

Figure 10: Land grant kudurru BM 90936 from the time of Nabu-apla-iddina witnessed by Enlil-shuma-ibni, governor of Isin, son of Raba-sha-Marduk.

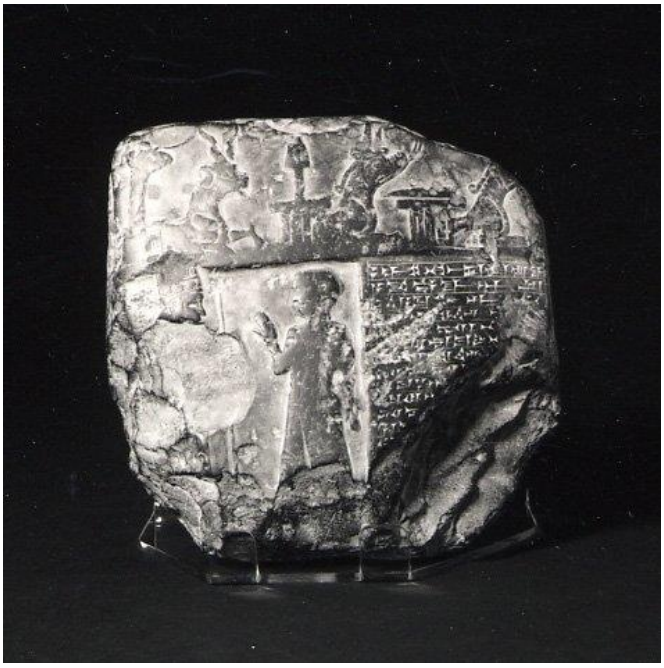


Figure 11: Land grant kudurru BM 90922 dated to the twentieth year of Nabu-apla-iddina witnessed by Enlil-shuma-ibni, governor of Isin, son of Raba-sha-Marduk.

The Hittite connection in the life of Rabâ-ša-Marduk is summarized briefly in the Wikipedia article related to him. Sometime between 857 and 836 B.C. he was sent on a mission to Hatti from which he never returned. The dates mentioned bracket the reign of the Hittite king Muwatalli (see Figure 1).

> His mission to the Hittite court must have taken place during the first half of Kadašman-Turgu's reign as this was when there was an overlap with that of Muwatalli's rule. He was accompanied by an incantation priest. His host, Muwatalli, was the only Hittite king known to have not fathered a son of the first rank (i.e. his primary wife, the Tawananna) and this may have been the reason behind the importation of foreign experts.[9] If so, the effort was in vain as Muwatalli would be succeeded by Urḫi-Teššup, the son of a concubine, who reigned briefly under the name of Mursili III before his overthrow. Nevertheless, Rabâ-ša-Marduk was enticed to stay with the provision of a fine house and a marriage to a member of the king's family. The Kassite king Kadašman-Enlil II (1263-1255 BC short chronology) would complain bitterly to Ḫattušili III about the failure to return loaned artisans, but Ḫattušili countered that the, now probably elderly, physician was free to go as he pleased.[10]

This information is derived solely from Hittite documents. We leave it to the reader to read the Wikipedia and other online articles related to this physician, particularly the controversy surrounding his recruitment by Hittite king Mursillis during that king's prolonged illness.

3. Baba-aha-iddina (dynasty of E king) mentioned in conjunction with the Kassite king Kadashman-Turgu and the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari III in VAT 15420.

According to Albert Kirk Grayson in his *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: From the beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I (1972)* the badly damaged tablet VAT 15420 is believed to be the remains of a treaty forged between Kadashman-Turgu, king of Karduniash (1281-1264), and Adad-nirari (I), king of Assyria (1305-1274).

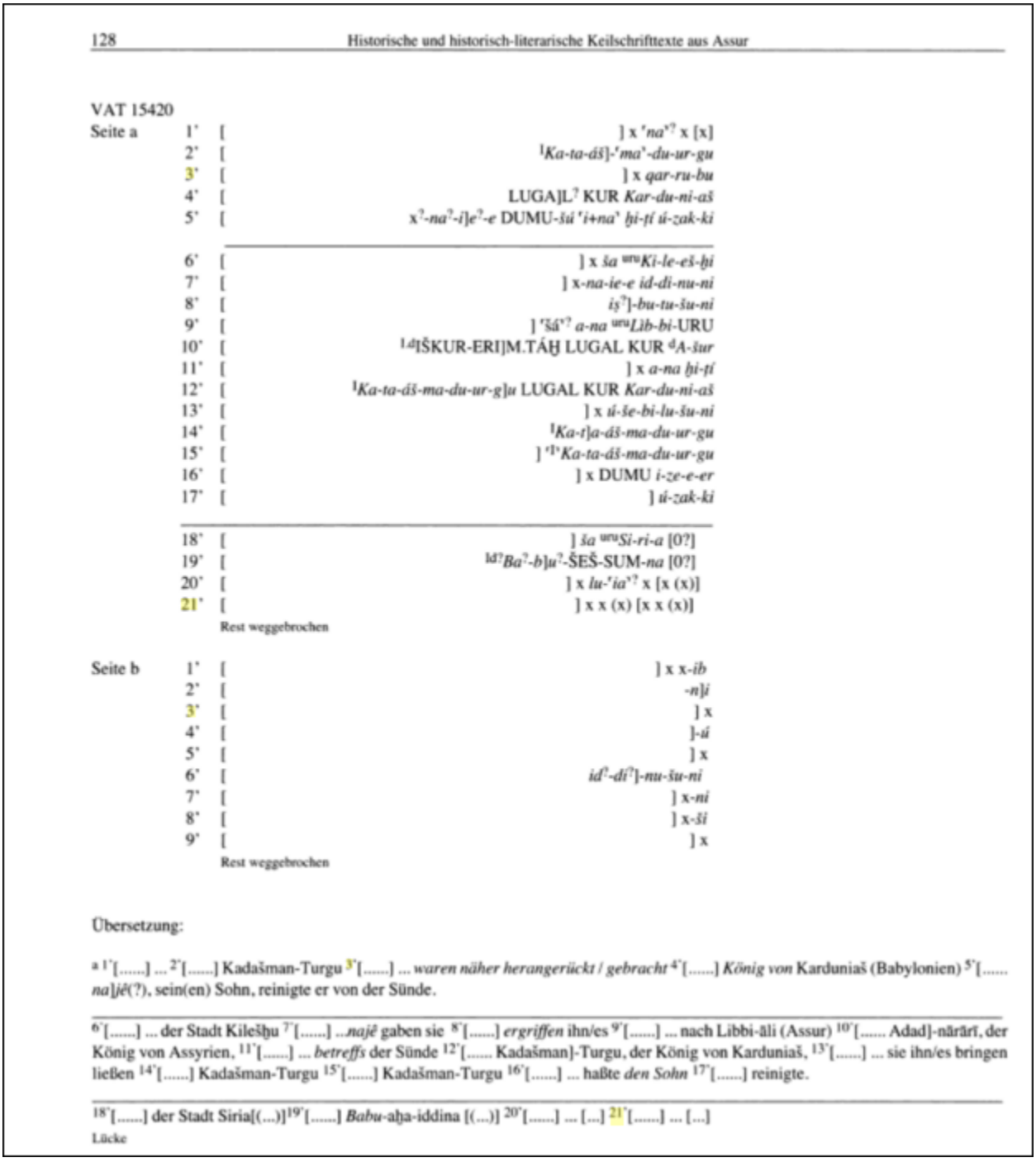
> This fragmentary clay tablet may represent the remains of a treaty between Adad-nirari I and the Babylonian king Kadashman-Turgu. Both royal names appear in the text, which is too fragmentary to translate. The phrase "he pardoned his son of the crime", which seems to appear twice, is interesting. The cities Inner City, Kileshhi, and Siria, are mentioned. Someone called […}-aha-iddina appears and one is reminded of Baba-aha-iddina, chancellor of Assyria during the latter years of Adad-narari I. (Grayson, ARI sect 50, p. 78)

According to our revised timeline, the tablet should instead be identified as an historiographic text relating the details of some unspecified "crime" perpetrated by a son of Kadashman-Turgu against the Assyrian king Adad-nirari (IŠKUR-ERIM.TÁH). The crime was apparently pardoned/forgiven by the Assyrians (not by Kadashman-Turgu as argued by traditional scholars). It is unfortunate that only approximately one-quarter to one-third of each of the 21 lines on the obverse of the tablet is legible, making interpretation of the visible text extremely hypothetical. In our revised history Kadashman-Turgu is dated in the third quarter of the 9th century BC. and the Assyrian king named in the text must be Adad-nirari III (811-783). The incident referred to likely took place in the first year or two of Adad-nirari's reign, thus around the year 810 BC. It should be noted that in the traditional history it is next to impossible for a son of Kadashman-Turgu to have offended the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I, who died ten years prior to the end of Kadashman-Turgu's reign. Not so in the revised history, where an adult son of Kadashman-Turgu (842-823) would more than likely have held some official position throughout the reign Adad-nirari III (811-783).

What is most interesting in this document is the fact that, for reasons unknown, another royal? figure enters the picture. His name is [^{ld}Ba-b]u?-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, and in our revised timeline he must be identified as Baba-aha-iddina, the vassal king of Babylon, the 9th king of the "dynasty of E", whose reign lasted less than a year (812 BC). Needless to say, if this attribution of the name is correct, this tablet, notwithstanding the damage, is one of the few documents discovered thus far that clearly synchronizes the timelines of the Kassites, the Assyrians, *and* the "vassal kings of Babylon". In that respect it is extremely important. To enable readers of this paper to interact with the tablet inscription we reproduce below, in our Figure 12, the transliteration and translation (in German) of the tablet VAT 15420, produced by Eckart Frahm on page 128 in his *Historische und historisch-literarische Texte* (2009).

We do not know the name of the "son of Kadashman-Turgu" referenced in the inscription, though the possibility exists that the son in question was Baba-aha-iddina himself, whose ancestry is not known. If so, the dynasty of E king of Babylon was a brother of Kadashman-Enlil II, and would have been installed in office by Kudur-Enlil (813-805), his nephew.

Figure 12: Transliteration and translation of tablet VAT 15420.



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VAT 15420

Seite a

1' [ ] x 'na'? x [x]
2' [[Ka-ta-áš]-'ma'-du-ur-gu
3' [ ] x qar-ru-bu
4' [LUGA]L? KUR Kar-du-ni-aš
5' [x?-na?-i]e?-e DUMU-šú 'i+na' ḫi-ṭí ú-zak-ki

6' [ ] x ša uruKi-le-eš-ḫi
7' [ ] x-na-ie-e id-di-nu-ni
8' [iš?]-bu-tu-šu-ni
9' [ ] 'šá'? a-na uruLib-bi-URU
10' [1.d[IŠKUR-ERI]M.TÁḪ LUGAL KUR dA-šur
11' [ ] x a-na ḫi-ṭí
12' [[Ka-ta-áš-ma-du-ur-g]u LUGAL KUR Kar-du-ni-aš
13' [ ] x ú-še-bi-lu-šu-ni
14' [[Ka-t]a-áš-ma-du-ur-gu
15' [ ] '1'Ka-ta-áš-ma-du-ur-gu
16' [ ] x DUMU i-ze-e-er
17' [ ] ú-zak-ki

18' [ ] ša uruSi-ri-a [0?]
19' [ld?Ba?-b]u?-ŠEŠ-SUM-na [0?]
20' [ ] x lu-'ia'? x [x (x)]
21' [ ] x x (x) [x x (x)]

Rest weggebrochen

Seite b

1' [ ] x x-ib
2' [-n]i
3' [ ] x
4' [ ]-ú
5' [ ] x
6' [id?-di?]-nu-šu-ni
7' [ ] x-ni
8' [ ] x-ši
9' [ ] x

Rest weggebrochen

Übersetzung:

a 1'[.....] ... 2'[.....] Kadašman-Turgu 3'[.....] ... *waren näher herangerückt / gebracht* 4'[.....] *König von* Karduniaš (Babylonien) 5'[..... *na*]*jê*(?), sein(en) Sohn, reinigte er von der Sünde.

6'[.....] ... der Stadt Kilešḫu 7'[.....] ...*najê* gaben sie 8'[.....] *ergriffen* ihn/es 9'[.....] ... nach Libbi-āli (Assur) 10'[..... Adad]-nārārī, der König von Assyrien, 11'[.....] ... *betreffs* der Sünde 12'[..... Kadašman]-Turgu, der König von Karduniaš, 13'[.....] ... sie ihn/es bringen ließen 14'[.....] Kadašman-Turgu 15'[.....] Kadašman-Turgu 16'[.....] ... haßte *den Sohn* 17'[.....] reinigte.

18'[.....] der Stadt Siria[(...)]19'[.....] *Babu*-aḫa-iddina [(...)] 20'[.....] ... [...] 21'[.....] ... [...]

Lücke

And on that note we conclude this paper.

Paper #8 – Dating the Kassite kings #1 - 16, the Sealand dynasty, & the Amorite dynasty (including Hammurabi).

A. Dating the Kassite kings #1 - 16

In papers #1-7 presented in the "Mesopotamia" section of the *Displaced Dynasties* webpage we demonstrated conclusively that the Kassite kings #17 (Kurigalzu I) through to #36 (Enlil-nadin-ahhe) must be dated in the time frame ca 970 – 714 BC, almost completely overlapping the 8th/9th "dynasty of E" kings Nabu-mukin-apli through to Nabu-shuma-ukin (979-732 BC). And we argued repeatedly that the "dynasty of E" kings functioned as "caretaker kings", vassals of the Kassites. There is no perceived need to produce further evidence of the reliability of these claims, although without doubt evidence abounds in the multiple hundreds of already translated cuneiform documents related to this time frame, and more-so among the multiple thousands of untranslated inscribed tablets and artifacts languishing in museum storerooms and private collections throughout the world. In the opinion of this author there remains absolutely no doubt concerning the stated dates of these twenty Kassite kings, which are accurate to within a few years. Therefore at this stage in our analysis we merely summarize our current results (see Table I below) and proceed to briefly examine the reigns of the sixteen Kassite kings who preceded them.

Table I: Traditional and Revised Dates for the Kassite kings #17 through #35.

No.	Ruler	Traditional Dates	Revised Dates	Comment
17	Kurigalzu I	1410-1375	970-945	
18	Kadashman-Enlil I	1374-1360	944-930	
19	Burnaburiash II	1359-1333	929-903	
20	Kadashman-Harbe (or Kara-hardash)	1333	902-897	
21	Shuzigash (or Nazi-Bugash)	1333	896-895	
22	Kurigalzu II	1332-1308	894-869	
23	Nazi-Maruttash	1307-1283	868-843	
24	Kadashman-Turgu	1281-1264	842-823	
25	Kadashman-Enlil II	1263-1255	822-814	
26	Kudur-Enlil	1254-1246	813-805	
27	Shagarakti-Shuriash	1245-1233	804-792	
28	Kashtiliashu IV	1232-1225	791-784	
29	Enlil-nadin-shumi	1224	783	
30	Kadashman-Harbe II	1223	782	
31	Adad-shuma-iddina	1222-1217	781-776	
32	Adad-shuma-usur	1216-1187	775-746	
33	Meli-Shipak II	1186-1172	745-731	
34	Marduk-apla-iddina II	1171-1159	730-718	
35	Zababa-shuma-iddin	1158	727	
36	Enlil-nadin-ahe	1157-1155	716-714	

Our task at the moment is to provide the names of the first sixteen Kassite rulers and their approximate dates. In supplying the names we immediately run into problems. The Wikipedia article on the Kassite kings names only 15 kings, and Brinkman, in the section entitled "A Chronology of the Kassite Dynasty", on pages 6-34 of his *Materials and Studies for Kassite History* (1976), presents a listing of the early Kassite kings, half of whom he cites as problematic. Brinkman appears to be convinced that sixteen kings must precede Kurigalzu I, if only to maintain the total of 36 Kassite kings itemized at the end of the dynasty 3 listing of kings in the heavily damaged *Babylonian King List A* (see p. 272 in Pritchard's Ancient Near Eastern Texts (ANET) and discussion on page 4 below). Many of the names are very poorly attested in the available sources. In the end he leaves the question open whether an otherwise unnamed king ruled immediately after the 10th king Burnaburiash I, with kings Kashtiliashu III, Ulamburiash, and Agum III cited as kings #12, 13, and 14 (as in our table 2 below), or whether they should be numbered #11, 12, and 13, with the unknown king positioned as king #14. Kashtiliashu III and Ulamburiash are known to be sons of Burnaburiash I, while Agum III is a grandson, son of Kashtiliashu III. The unnamed king, assuming we have correctly positioned him, must be either a brother or another son of Burnaburiash I. We believe that we have chosen correctly, and that the ordering of kings presented below is correct.

Table 2: Traditional and Revised Dates for the Kassite kings #1 through #16.

No.	Ruler	Traditional Dates	Revised Dates	Comment
1	Gandash	1730-1704	1290-1264	
2	Agum I	1704-1682	1264-1242	
3	Kashtiliashu I	1682-1660	1242-1220	Battle against the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (see Tukulti-Ninurta epic).
4	Abi-Rattash	1660-1641	1220-1201	
5	Kashtiliashu II	1641-1622	1201-1182	
6	Ur-zigurumash	1622-1603	1182-1163	
7	Hurbazum	1603-1583	1163-1143	Hittite raid on Babylon (ca 1155). End of the Amorite dynasty.
8	Shipta-ulzi	1583-1564	1143-1124	
9	Agum II (Kakrime)	1564-1545	1124-1105	Restores the Marduk statue stolen by Hittites (24 years after the Mursilis I raid?)
10	Burnaburiash I	1545-1526	1105-1086	
11	Unnamed king	1526-1506	1086-1066	
12	Kashtiliashu III	1506-1487	1066-1047	
13	Ulamburiash	1487-1468	1047-1028	Conquers the Sealand Dynasty.
14	Agum III	1468-1449	1028-1009	
15	Karaindash	1449-1430	1009-990	Contemporary of Amenhotep II?
16	Kadashman-Harbe I	1430-1410	990-970	
17	Kurigalzu I	1410-1375	970-945	

Momentarily we will provide added information confirming that the dates of Ulumburiash assigned him in our Table 2 are approximately correct, though they do suggest that his reign should probably be lengthened by six or seven years.

If the reader should choose to read Brinkman's discussion of the sixteen kings he/she will quickly grasp the fact that, except for the first three kings, no specific reign lengths can be assigned to any of these kings based on the available literature. Their names and dates are entirely elided in a damaged section of the *Babylonian King List A*. In our paper #7 we did briefly discuss the fact that the *King List A* does assign reign lengths of 26, 22, and 22 years to the kings Gandash, Agum I, and Kashtiliashu I (earlier incorrectly read as 16, 12, and 22 years in ANET), enabling us to provide absolute dates for these three kings, assuming of course that we have correctly identified the year 1290 BC as the year the Kassites invaded and conquered Babylonia (see discussion regarding that date on the following page). Thus we can state with some confidence that the combined reign lengths of the other 13 kings must total 250 years, spanning the time from the end of the reign of Kashtiliashu I (1660 BC [traditional history] or 1220 BC [revised history]) to the conjectured beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu I (1410 BC [traditional history] and 970 BC [revised history]).

Only one method can be readily employed to assign absolute regnal years to each of the 13 kings. The arithmetic involved can be handled readily by any early grade school student. Dividing the total number of regnal years (250) by the number of kings (13) provides an average reign length of 19.23 years, or ca 77 years for every four kings. Thus by assigning each of three consecutive kings a reign length of 19 years and the fourth king a reign length of 20 years, we can assign approximate dates to each of the 13 undated kings, filling the blank spaces in our Table 2 (where the 13 interpolated dates are printed in red). We are well aware that this procedure will result in some significant errors, but statistically the process will likely yield dates which are in error by less than a dozen years, sufficiently accurate for the conclusions which hinge upon them. And there is a method by which we can verify the reasonable accuracy of several of these dates.

We do not intend to employ this secondary method of determining dates save in one specific instance, namely, the revised history dates for the king Ulamburiash, who by the aforementioned methodology ruled Karduniash from 1487-1468 according to the traditional history or 1047-1028 BC as per the revised history. This alternative procedure depends entirely on the presence of the name of the Kassite king, in this case Ulamburiash, in one of the historiographical texts known as "synchronistic histories" or "chronicles", those which identify the king as a contemporary of an Assyrian king or multiple Assyrian kings, whose absolute dates are well established. In the present case we note that on page 273 in Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, in his translation of the *Synchronistic Chronicle*, that Ulamburiash was assumed to be a contemporary of the Assyrian king Puzur-Ashur and three of his successors, Enlil-Nasir, Nurili, and Ashur-shaduni. The Wikipedia article on Puzur-Ashur III informs us that this king ruled between the years 1503-1479 and the online list of Assyrian kings tells us that his three successors ruled for 13 years, 12 years, and 1 mo. respectively. Assuming that these numbers are accurate, Ulamburiash ruled for at minimum 26 years, likely beginning in the last year or two of the reign of Puzur-Ashur III. His dates are thus approximately 1479-1453 (or 1039-1013) BC based on the *Synchronistic Chronicle*.

At this juncture in our discussion we need to repeat an argument we made early in our research on Babylonian History, to the effect that historiographical texts such as the *Synchronistic Chronicle*, and most other Chronicles that mention Kassite rulers, are completely unreliable. The reason cited in our

paper #3 discussion was the fact that, without exception, these documents all date to the late 7th century at the earliest, and were produced for several centuries following, long after the end of the Kassite dynasty in 714 BC and even longer after the Kassite presence in Karduniash had diminished sufficiently that Assyrians had assumed many, if not most of the governmental offices in the country. By this time scribes were confused by the existing documentation from the Kassite era, and mistakenly believed, as do present day scholars, that the dynasty 3 Kassites ruled prior to the arrival of the dynasty 4 "kings of Babylon", who are presumed to have governed Karduniash independently. The *Synchronistic Chronicle*, referenced above, is a case in point. That document was authored no earlier than the late stages of the reign of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668 - ca 627 BC) and his Babylonian contemporary Kandalanu, son of Shumashshumukin, in the last third of the 7th century. Conceivably it dates even later than these kings, though they are the last kings mentioned in the text. The point we make here is that the dates of all of the Kassite kings named in the document need to be lowered by 440 years. The synchronisms provided are therefore voided, but there does exist salvageable data in the listing of kings. Since the author of the *Chronicle* was convinced that the reign of Ulamburiash spanned the reigns of the four kings mentioned, it follows that he believed that Ulamburiash must be assigned a reign length of around 26 years or longer, and since, by his reckoning, Ulamburiash was a contemporary of Assyrian kings who reign during the years 1479-1453, we can determine that king's revised dates by simply subtracting 440 years from those numbers. Accordingly, in the revised history we can assume with some confidence that this Kassite king actually ruled Karduniash in the time frame 1039-1013, or thereabouts. While those dates differs significantly from the 1047-1028 BC time frame determined by our "interpolation" methodology, the fact that the two estimates differ by only 8 years on the upper end of the spectrum is well within the "margin of error" for this methodology. And the lengthening of the reign to the year 1013 agrees more favorably with what we know about this Kassite king from other sources. In a moment we will have cause to look more closely at Ulamburiash. His reign is pivotal in our dating of the 1st Sealand dynasty, to which we now divert our attention.

B. Dating the Amorite and Sealand dynasty (a.k.a. dynasties 1 and 2).

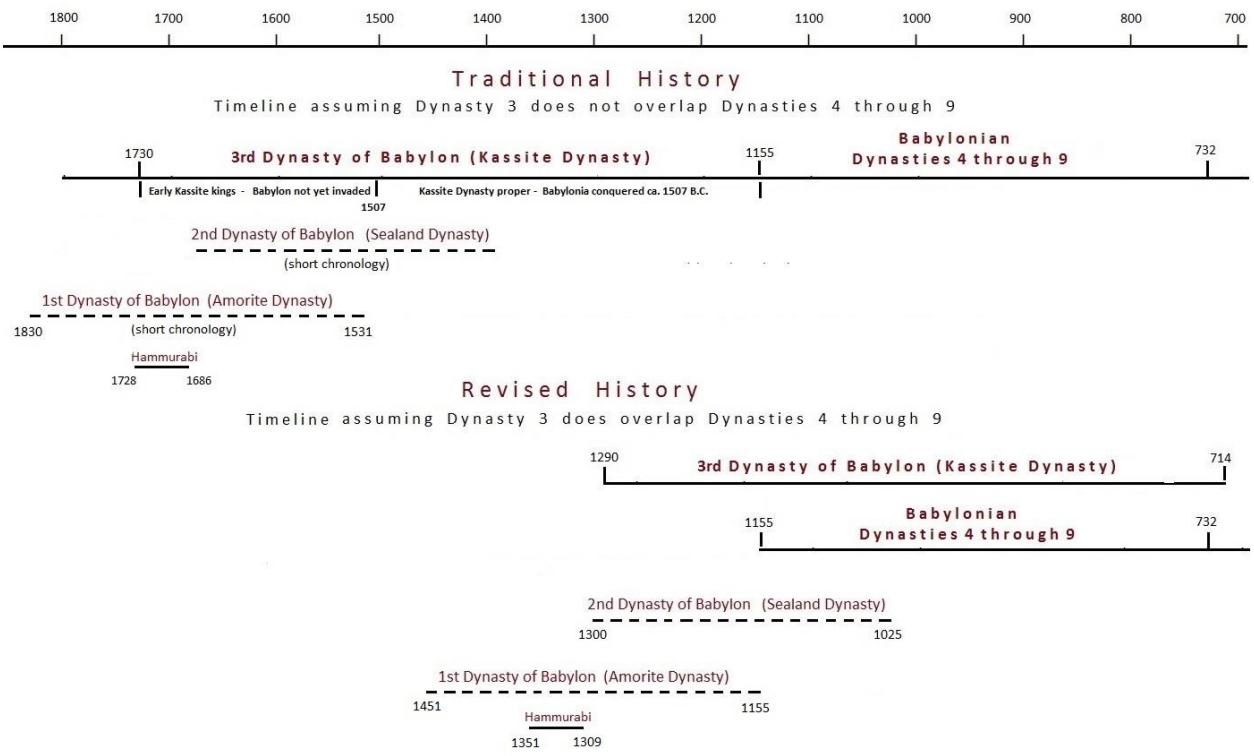
a) General Considerations. By the time we wrote our 2nd paper, less than a month after our original discovery (in paper #1) that the Kassite kings from Kurigalzu I through to Kadashman-Enlil II belonged to the late 10th through to the end of the 9th century BC, we were already in a position to provide a rough outline of the whole of Babylonian history encompassing dynasties 1 (Amorite), 2 (1st Sealand), 3 (Kassite) and 4-9 (vassal "kings of Babylon"). The presence of Kassite kings #17-36 in the late 10th-9th centuries informed us instantly that the Kassite dynasty must have overlapped not only the time frame of the vassal kings of dynasties 4-9, but also large portions of the Amorite and Sealand dynasties. The results of our paper #2 analysis resulted in the crude timeline chart reproduced below in our Figure 1.

The chart in Figure 1, insofar as it depicts the positioning of the Kassite dynasty (dynasty 3) and the dynasty 4-9 (kings of Babylon), as seen from the perspective of the traditional and revised histories, is accurate, reflecting as it does the 440 year reduction in Kassite dates we had only recently discovered. But since we had not so much as looked at the Amorite and Sealand Dynasties, we merely blindly copied the suggested traditional dates for those two dynasties

from the online Wikipedia article entitled "*List of kings of Babylon*", which follows the "short chronology" throughout. From this data we created the traditional history timelines for the Amorite and Sealand dynasties in our Figure 1 chart. Unfortunately, the absolute dates for the Sealand dynasty listed in that article suggest that this dynasty began during the reign of Hammurabi, which actually misrepresents the historical situation. The initial king of the dynasty, named Ulum-ma-ili, might well have begun his reign as a tenant king of the Amorite king Hammurabi, but his break from the Amorite dynasty, thus the true beginning of the Sealand dynasty, did not take place until the early years of Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna. Thus this brief "mea culpa".

We will describe the conflict between Ulum-ma-ili and Samsu-iluna in the concluding paragraphs of this paper, in a section entitled "Synchronisms". In any case, the diagramming error has absolutely no effect on any of the content in papers #1-7, so for the time being we leave that earlier chart "as is". Later we will go back and modify the Sealand timeline in the three places where our Figure 1 appears in earlier papers, as we do in this paper when we create our final timeline chart (Figure 2) on page 8.

Figure 1: Timeline showing the relative placement of the 1st (Amorite), 2nd (Sealand), 3rd (Kassite), and 4th-9th Dynasties as understood by the traditional and the revised histories (copied from our paper #2).



Since all we wanted at the time our Figure 1 was created was an approximate positioning of the Amorite and Sealand dynasty timelines in the revised chronology schema, we merely moved the traditional history timelines for the two dynasties 440 years into the future along with the Kassite timeline, on the assumption that the three dynasties were loosely connected temporally and should move in tandem. That satisfied the need at the time, so long as the reader was kept informed as to what we were doing, which was the case. In the final analysis it turns out that the positioning of the Amorite and Sealand timelines on the upper half of the timeline chart makes absolutely no difference to where those dynasties are ultimately positioned in the revised history, since, as the reader probably already knows, those traditional timelines could have been positioned in any one of five different locations, depending on whether we chose to diagram them using chronological data based on the ultra-low, low (short), middle, high (or even "ultra high") schema followed by traditional scholars.

As promised earlier, we add here a brief explanation of the date 1290 BC cited as the beginning of the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty according to the "revised history", this for the sake of readers who have yet to examine paper's #1 and #2. Those two papers determined conclusively that the Kassite dynasty ended in the year 714 BC. And the document known as the "*Babylonian King List A*", referenced on page 2 above, furnished the added information that the dynasty consisted of 36 kings who ruled for a combined 576 years. It followed immediately from these two bits of information that the Kassite dynasty began around the year 1290 BC (=714 + 576 years). And since the traditional history reckons that the Kassite dynasty ended in the approximate year 1155 BC, we were able to conclude, again utilizing grade 3 arithmetic, that every Kassite king in the traditional history is dated 441 years (= 1115-714) too early, a figure we rounded off to 440 years for ease of calculation. It is extremely important that the reader understand our rationale for subtracting the number 440 from the dates of all Kassite kings, and from the dates of any dignitaries or officials who served under them, in order to position them in their proper historical.

Since momentarily we will argue our case for repositioning dynasties 1 & 2 we outline here two guidelines that must be adhered to in the process:

1) The author of the *Babylonian King List A*, which records the Babylonian dynasties sequentially, almost certainly based his listing on the order in which each dynasty first appeared in history, beginning with the earliest. It follows that we must be sure to structure our timelines to reflect the fact that dynasty 1 *began* before dynasty 2, which in turn *preceded* dynasty 3 in time (and so on). It is immaterial when each dynasty ended. For example, it matters little that the 2nd dynasty and the 4th dynasty ended at precisely the same time, as we will demonstrate later in this paper, or that the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty does not come to an end until well over two centuries after the conclusion of dynasties 4-7.

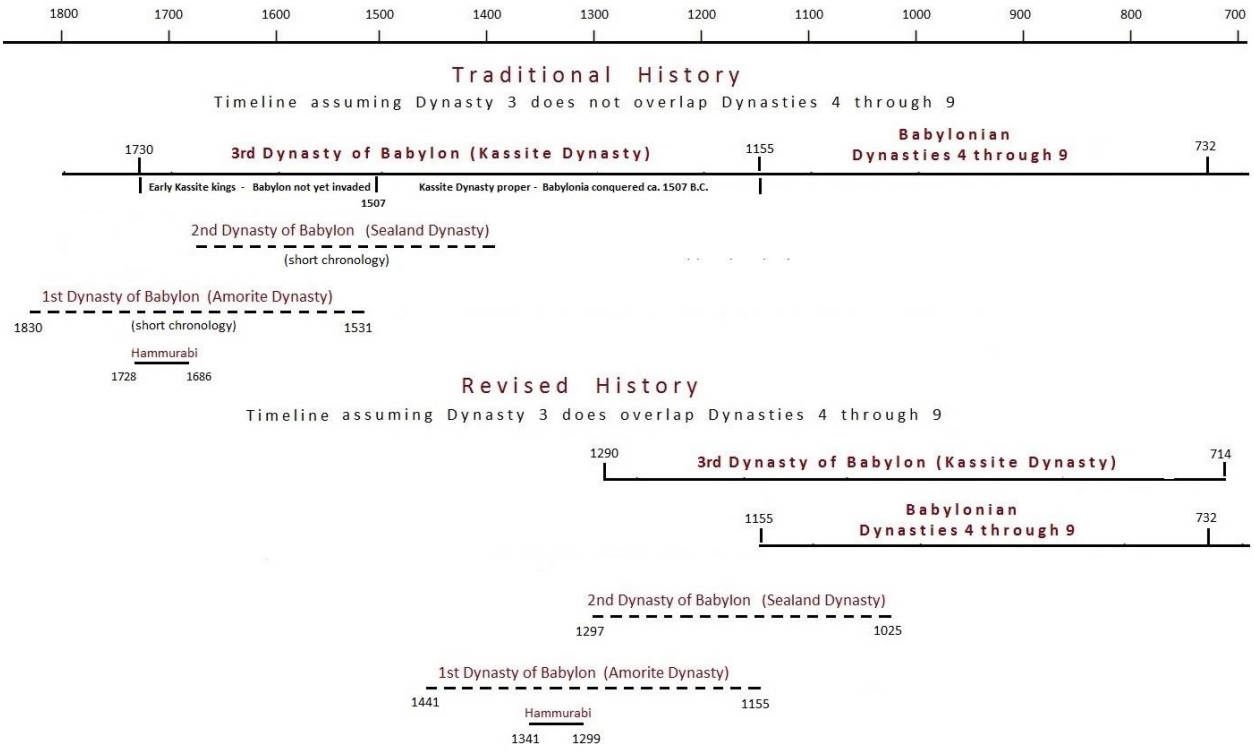
2) The fact that the Kassites did not rule Karduniash directly, but utilized vassal kings, at least in the time frame from the mid-10th through to the end of the 8th century, suggests that

throughout the Kassite period there were always kings of Babylon subservient to the Kassites, thus necessitating the presence of vassal kings filling the void between the Kassite conquest of Babylonia and the onset of the dynasty 4-9 vassal "kings of Babylon", i.e. filling the interval between 1290 and 1155 BC. And since the Sealand dynasty ruled only the extreme south of Babylonia, and likely never governed the principal cities of Akkad and Sumer in the heart of the country, some portion of the Amorite dynasty must have served Kassite overlords in the stated time frame.

The application of these two principles will give us some direction initially as we position the 1st and 2nd dynasties. Our procedure is straightforward. When we revise our dates for the two dynasties we first determine precisely when each dynasty ended. That will occupy a large segment of the pages which follow. Then, in the case of the Amorite dynasty, we work backward using the known reign lengths of the eleven kings, to determine when the dynasty began. In the case of the Sealand dynasty a different procedure is forced on us, since the *Babylonian king list A,* the only document which clearly names the eleven constituent kings and also provides their reign lengths, is clearly not reliable. Other documents suggest that the dynasty may have consisted of at least one more king, and the reign lengths provided by the *King List A* total 368 years, a conflated figure that does not agree with other chronological sources. We cannot rely on this number. Thus we must use other means to determine when the Sealand dynasty began, and we have already outlined our methodology. We do know that the first Sealand king Ilum-ma-ili was a contemporary of Hammurabi's son and successor Samsu-iluna, and that his defection from Amorite control took place early in that king's reign. Thus we may use the dates determined for the Amorite kings, and in particular the dates for Samsu-iluna, to assign an approximate date to the beginning of the (independent) Sealand dynasty.

By choice, before even beginning our argument, we construct another timeline chart, similar to our Figure 1, but one where the Amorite and Sealand dynasties are correctly positioned, reflecting the results of our analyses in the pages which follow. There are two reasons for doing this. On the one hand we will have occasion to reference this corrected chart in the course of the arguments which follow. On the other hand it may prove useful to the reader to have the final picture in view as he/she follows the course of the argument. Thus in our Figure 2 on the following page, our last "kick at the can" so to speak, we move both timelines in the revised history section, this time positioning them so that the Amorite dynasty ends in the year 1155 BC and the Sealand dynasty over a century later, around the year 1025 BC., very close to where it was positioned in our Figure 1. This time we actually produce evidence supporting our conjectured dates.

Figure 2: Revised timeline showing the relative placement of the 1st (Amorite), 2nd (Sealand), 3rd (Kassite), and 4th-9th Dynasties as understood by the traditional and the revised histories.



The Figure 2 timeline produced above is completely reliable. Any previous errors have been corrected and the revised timelines in the chart reflect the entire content of this paper. The Sealand dynasty timeline has been adjusted to reflect the fact that this dynasty began after, not before the reign of Hammurabi, though in the final analysis it is immaterial which traditional history timelines are produced on the upper half of the chart. They have absolutely no bearing on where we have placed the revised timelines for the Amorite and Sealand dynasties. In the revised history there are no ultra-short, short, middle, or long chronologies. The two timelines are the result of a two-step process which eliminates those artificial distinctions.

b) Revised dates for the Sealand dynasty. It is time to assign dates to the Sealand dynasty. As mentioned earlier this is a two step process which begins by determining dates for the end of the dynasty. We need not spend long doing just that. Only two facts are relevant and both can be read at a glance on the Wikipedia site documenting the Sealand Dynasty, which informs us that

> Ea-gamil, the ultimate king of the dynasty, fled to Elam ahead of an invading horde led by Kassite chief Ulam-Buriash, brother of the king of Babylon Kashtiliash III, who conquered the Sealand, incorporated it into Babylonia and "made himself master of the land".

With few exceptions scholars are convinced that the Sealand dynasty ended during the reign of the Kassite king Ulamburiash. According to the traditional history this event transpired in the 15th century BC. We have dated this king's reign in the years 1047-1028 BC (see Table 2).

The Wikipedia article on Ulamburiash makes reference to the primary source(s) of this opinion:

> The *Chronicle of Early Kings*, a neo-Babylonian historiographical text preserved on two tablets, describes how Ea-gamil, the last king of the Sealand Dynasty, fled to Elam ahead of an invasion force led by Ulam-Buriaš, the "brother of Kaštiliašu", who became "master of the land" (*bēlūt māti īpuš*), i.e. Sealand, a region of southern Mesopotamia synonymous with or at the southern end of Sumer. A serpentine or diorite mace head or possibly door knob found in Babylon is engraved with the epithet of Ulaburariaš, "King of Sealand".

The relevant inscription on the reverse of tablet B of the Chronicle of Early Kings (lines 12-18) is brief, but explicit. There should be no doubt about its authenticity, and less so about its content. While the Sealand dynasty came to an end during the reign of Ulamburiash, apparently pockets of resistance remained, requiring some further action on the part of Agum III, his successor, which fact suggests that the conquest of the Sealand by Ulumburiash took place very late, if not near the very end of that king's reign, thus around 1028 BC if the dates we assigned this king in our Table 2 are correct. If we accept the alternative dates for Ulamburiash calculated earlier, his reign may easily be extended by a half-dozen years or more.

Table 3: Inscription on the *Chronicle of Early Kings* documenting the end of the Sealand dynasty.

B.rev.12	Ea-gamil, the king of the Sealand, fled to Elam
B.rev.13	After he had gone, Ulam-Buriaš, brother of Kaštiliašu, the Kassite,
B.rev.14	mustered an army and conquered the Sealand. He was master of the land.
B.rev.15	Agum, the son of Kaštiliašu, mustered his army and
B.rev.16	marched to the Sealand.
B.rev.17	He seized Dur-Enlil and
B.rev.18	destroyed Egalgašešna, Enlil's temple in Dur-Enlil

The date 1028 for the end of the Sealand dynasty probably needs to be reduced modestly. In the traditional history the king Ulamburiash governed Babylon directly. There existed no additional sources by which to fine tune the dating of his victory over Ea-gamil. That is not true in the revised history where we have argued repeatedly that the dynasty 4-9 "kings of Babylon" governed Karduniash by proxy. Our assigned dates for Ulamburiash, 1047-1028 BC, tell us that his reign overlapped the final decades of the lengthy 4th dynasty of vassal "kings of Babylon", a dynasty that governed Karduniash through the years 1155-ca 1025 BC. Both sets of dates mentioned are approximations, and can be readily adjusted if needed. And here there is a probable need, since in 1025 BC the 5th dynasty of "kings of Babylon" replaced the 4th dynasty. And coincidentally (?) this short lived but important dynasty not only ruled Babylonia proper, but also the Sealand, a fact emphasized by the *Babylonian King List A*, which refers to the 5th dynasty as the 2nd Sealand dynasty, implying, if it doesn't prove, that its first king, Simbar-

Shipak, was a replacement for the deposed Sealand sovereign Ea-gamil (see Table 5 below for a list of the 5th dynasty kings).

Table 4: List of kings of Dynasty V of Babylon
(copied from the Wikipedia article entitled "List of kings of Babylon"

Ruler	Reigned	Comments
Simbar-shipak	c. 1025–1008 BC	Deposed native dynasty, assassinated by his successor
Ea-mukin-zeri	c. 1008 BC	Usurper
Kashshu-nadin-ahi	c. 1008–1004 BC	Distressed times and famine

We need not explain to the reader that it is no coincidence that a Babylonian dynasty governing the Sealand emerges within a few years of Ulamburiash conquering the former Sealand dynasty. And since the replacement of Ea-gamil by Simbar-Shipak would likely take place shortly after Ea-gamil fled to Elam, either we should extend the dates of Ulamburiash by at least three more years, or adjust the date for the onset of the 5th dynasty back in time by an equal number of years, from 1025 to 1028 BC. *Regardless, the dates for the flight of Ea-gamil and the beginning of the 2nd Sealand dynasty should probably be synchronized.* Accordingly we extend the reign of Ulamburiash by three years, dating its conclusion, or at least his raid on the Sealand, in 1025 BC, rather than in 1028.

When we argue that the 5th (Sealand) dynasty king Simbar-Shipak was installed in office very soon following the abdication of the terminal 2nd dynasty king Ea-gamil, we do leave open the possibility that for a short period of time the final 4th dynasty king Nabu-shum-libur, who may well have assisted Ulamburiash in the assault on the Sealand, continued to govern the enlarged vassal state of Karduniash, and died shortly after through natural causes. Either that or Nabu-shum-libur died during the assault. Regardless, the appointment of Simbar-Shipak, who was not related to Nabu-shum-libur, probably took place at the initiative of Ulamburiash himself, who was without doubt influenced by the enlarged responsibilities incumbent on the next vassal king. Thus a new dynasty emerged. It is certainly of some interest that this newly installed king was a Kassite, or probably so, as were his two successors, Ea-mukin-zeri and Kashshu-nadin-ahi. At least the theophoric names of the first and last of these kings included mention of prominent Kassite gods, and the kings themselves are generally regarded by scholars as ethnically Kassite. And not only was the 5th dynasty made up of ethnic Kassites, but the 6th dynasty as well, a problem for scholars of the traditional history, but hardly surprising in the context of the revised history.

It follows from the previous discussion that the Sealand dynasty ended in the year 1025, or thereabouts. And as per our earlier remarks, the dynasty began when the initial king of the dynasty Ilum-ma-ili rebelled against his Babylonian overlord Samsu-iluna, son and successor of Hammurabi. We leave the details of that rebellion for discussion in our following section, when we discuss dates for the Amorite dynasty. At this time we borrow one other detail from that

section – the revised dates for the king Samsu-iluna. As the reader will note from our table 2 revised Amorite timeline, we date king Hammurabi in the years 1351-1309 and his son Samsuiluna in the years 1309-1271. Assuming that the defection of Ilum-ma-ili took place very early in the reign of Samsuiluna, we should date the beginning of the Sealand dynasty around the year 1300, if not earlier. Combining the two bits of information we tentatively date the Sealand dynasty to the years 1300-1025. Those dates are reflected in our Table 2 timeline.

c) Revised dates for the Amorite dynasty.

We remarked earlier on our methodology for determining revised dates for the Amorite dynasty. First we determine when the dynasty ended. Then we produce approximate reign lengths for each of its eleven kings and work backwards from the end date, producing absolute dates for each king until we reach the beginning of the dynasty. In this instance we determined the individual reign lengths from the listing of Amorite kings in the Wikipedia article entitled **"**List of kings of Babylon", the same source we used to list the dynasty 5 kings on the previous page. Here we use the article only to derive the names and reign lengths of the eleven kings. The absolute dates provided in that article are irrelevant. They represent the traditional history dating of those kings following the "short chronology", and needless to say they are grossly in error. Instead we incorporate the names and reign lengths into the following table, along with the reign lengths of the eleven kings as found on the Babylonian king list B (for comparative purposes) to determine revised absolute dates for the Amorite kings. For this procedure to work we necessarily put the cart before the horse. We must inform the reader of the conclusion reached after a dozen odd pages of discussion which follow, which prove that the Amorite dynasty ended in the year 1155 BC, a fact previously revealed in our table 2. The fact remains to be proved. But be assured – proof will follow.

By listing the absolute dates of the Amorite kings using this methodology we avoid using the terms "short, middle and long chronology". In the revised history these terms have no relevance. All we want to determine is when the dynasty ended, when it began, and the approximate dates of several of its constituent kings, in this instance Hammurabi and Samsuiluna. If our chart is correct, we have accomplished that objective. The Amorite dynasty dates have been determined (1451-1155), the dates for Samsu-iluna (1309-1271) utilized in our dating of the Sealand dynasty have been produced, and the dates for Hammurabi (1351-1309) established. These dates are reflected already in our Table 2 revised history timelines. All that remains is for us to prove is that the Amorite dynasty ended in the year 1155 B.C. As stated in the previous paragraph, that proof will entail over a dozen pages of argument.

Table 5: List of kings of Dynasty 1 of Babylon (aka the Amorite dynasty) (copied from the Babylonian king list B in Prichard's ANET, p. 271 and adjusted by scholars as per the Wikipedia article entitled "List of kings of Babylon" s.v. Amorite dynasty.)

Amorite dynasty king	Reign length on King List B	Reign length as adjusted by contemporary scholars	Absolute dates according to the revised history
Sumuabi	15	13	1451-1438
Sumulail	35	36	1438-1402
Sab(i)u(m)	14	14	1402-1388
Apil-Sin	18	18	1388-1370
Sinmuballit	30	19	1370-1351
Hammurabi	55	42	1351-1309
Samsuiluna	35	38	1309-1271
Ebishum	25	28	1271-1243
Ammiditana	25	37	1243-1206
Ammisaduga	22	20	1206-1186
Samsuditana	31	31	1186-1155

Our proof that the Amorite dynasty ended in the year 1155 consists of five points, itemized below.

1. On page 6 above we listed two guidelines that must be adhered to in positioning the Amorite and Sealand dynasties. The second of these reminded us that "the Kassites did not rule Karduniash directly, but utilized vassal kings, at least in the time frame from the mid-10th through to the end of the 8th century" which fact "suggests that throughout the Kassite period there were always kings of Babylon subservient to the Kassites, thus necessitating the presence of vassal kings filling the void between the Kassite conquest of Babylonia and the onset of the dynasty 4-9 vassal "kings of Babylon", i.e. filling the interval between 1290 and 1155 BC. And since the Sealand dynasty ruled only the extreme south of Babylonia, and likely never governed the principal cities of Akkad and Sumer in the heart of the country, some portion of the Amorite dynasty must have served Kassite overlords in the stated time frame."

Two things follow from that conclusion. On the one hand it must be the case that an Amorite king was ruling Babylonia when the Kassites invaded Babylonia in 1290 BC. From that point onward the Amorite kings no longer ruled Babylonia independently, but as vassals of the 3rd dynasty kings. On the other hand this Amorite vassal state must have lasted *at minimum* to the year 1155 BC.

2) The timeline for the Amorite dynasty in our Figure 2 cannot be moved further back in time without leaving a gap preceding the onset of the 4th dynasty in 1155 B.C., which would violate our principle #2. It cannot be moved forward in time even as little as ten years, without causing the reign of Hammurabi to overlap the year 1290 B.C., forcing us to argue that the Kassites conquered Karduniash during the reign of this extremely powerful king, an event not just improbable, but arguably impossible. It follows that our timeline, positioned such that the dynasty ends precisely in the year 1155 B.C., is approximately correct. That it is absolutely correct follows from the unlikely event that the Amorite dynasty extended beyond the year 1155 BC, creating a situation where both Amorite and 4th dynasty kings co-existed as joint vassals of the Kassites, a scenario not just unlikely, but supported by absolutely no evidence.

3) According to the traditional history the Kassite dynasty ended in the approximate year 1155 BC, when the Elamite king Kudur-Nahhunte invaded Karduniash and deposed the Kassite king Enlil-nadin-ahi. This invasion is said to have paved the way for the onset of the 4th dynasty. But in our papers #1-7 we have demonstrated that the Kassite Empire came to an end late in the 8th century, over a decade after the close of the combined 8th/9th dynasties, the so-called "dynasty of E". The question then arises – if, according to the revised history, the latter kings of the Amorite dynasty ruled as vassals of the Kassites from 1290 to 1155 AD, what event brought that situation to an end. More specifically, since it is a well-established fact that the terminal Amorite king was named Samsu-ditana, what did happen in Karduniash in 1155 BC that unseated Samsu-ditana, giving rise to the 4th dynasty? Fortunately, there is absolutely no problem identifying the incident. All of the pertinent data is provided us by traditional historians, who unfortunately date the event approximately 400 years prior.

The event is question was an invasion and conquest of Babylon by a foreign power other than the Elamites. In 1155 BC the Hittite king Mursilis I, distant ancestor of Suppiluliuma I, led a Hittite army into Karduniash and attacked Babylon, at the time governed by Samsu-ditana, the last king of the Amorite dynasty. Mursilis not only sacked and looted Babylon, he is renowned for his sacrilegious theft of the statue of the Babylonian god Bel-Marduk, after which he removed his entire army from Babylonia and returned to Hatti, treasure in hand, including the Marduk statue. Momentarily we will return to the topic of the "stolen statue of Bel-Marduk". Meanwhile we continue to argue our case for the "1155 invasion of Karduniash by Mursilis I".

4) The traditional history is of the opinion, supported by inscriptional evidence, that the Hittite dynasty ruled by king Mursilis I invaded Babylonia and conquered Babylon sometime in the 16th century BC, and in the process removed the statue of the god Marduk from his temple in Babylon. Considerable argument surrounds the dating of this event, and the various conclusions reached have given rise to at least four possible dates, which in turn provide the bases for four dating schema, mentioned already in this paper, each of which provides variant absolute dates for a multitude of Near Eastern events, including the 8th year of the penultimate Amorite dynasty king Ammisaduqa and the dates for the reign of Hammurabi. The date of the

invasion by Mursilis, and the four dating schema are best summarized by a table included in the Wikipedia article on the "Chronology of the ancient Near East, in a section entitled "*Variant Bronze Age Chronologies*", reproduced below in our Table 6.

Table 6: Variant Near Eastern Bronze Age Chronologies and the date of the invasion of Babylon by Mursilis I

Chronology	Ammisaduqa Year 8	Reign of Hammurabi	Invasion of Mursilis I
Ultra-Low	1542 BC	1696-1654 BC	1499 BC
Short or Low	1574 BC	1728-1686 BC	1531 BC
Middle	1638 BC	1792-1750 BC	1595 BC
Long or High	1694 BC	1848-1806 BC	1651 BC

All of these four major chronologies of the Babylonian Amorite dynasty are determined on the basis of two major criteria. The first of these is a rough determination of the absolute date of the Hittite king Mursilis I based on an estimate of the number of years separating him from his more famous descendant Suppiluliumas I, whose dates in turn are based on Egyptian chronology. The estimated time gap between Suppiluliumas I and Mursilis I provides an estimate of when the Amorite dynasty ended, thus providing approximate dates for the invasion of Mursilis. This estimate is then further refined based on an observation of the planet Venus recorded in the 8th year of Ammisaduqa, the penultimate king of the Amorite dynasty. That observation, compared with data recorded on the famous Venus tablet of Ammisaduqa has led to the four estimates for the absolute date of this kings 8th year and the various assigned dates for the invasion of Mursilis (= the end of the Amorite dynasty). The mechanics of this determination are beyond the scope of this paper, and are hardly necessary regardless, since we are absolutely certain, based on points 1), 2) and 3) above, in combination with our papers #1 through #7, that the Mursilis I invasion took place ca 1155 BC. Having said that, we need to point out that our Table 5 is not "much ado about nothing".

While the absolute dates contained in the chart are simply another casualty of the errant traditional history, one date does support our present determination of the end date of the Amorite dynasty. We mentioned above that the date of Mursilis I was based on an estimate of the date of this king based on the overall Hittite chronology. And we have argued consistently, through the first three books of our Displaced Dynasties series and the first seven papers revising Babylonian history, that all Hittite dates must be reduced by approximately 440 years, since the Hittite and Kassite timelines are synchronized in many places. It is therefore significant that scholars of the Middle chronology, at one time consisting of the majority of Babylonian historians (though that chronology is now largely discredited), assign the date 1595 BC to the invasion by Mursilis, and thus to the end of the Amorite dynasty. Those early

scholars are therefore in perfect agreement with our present thesis, since subtracting 440 years from the date 1595 BC places the end of the Amorite dynasty precisely in the year 1155 BC.

5) There is yet a fifth, and very important reason for dating the invasion by Mursilis I and the end of the Amorite dynasty in the year 1155 BC, and that has to do with the removal of the statue of the god Bel-Marduk at that time and the return of the statue over three decades later. As we have argued above the traditional history believes that in 1155 BC the 4th dynasty emerged from the ashes of the Kassite dynasty, while the revised history sees its formation as a consequence of the end of the Amorite dynasty. Thus far in our revised Babylonian history we have neglected detailing this 4th dynasty, save for naming a few of its kings when they appeared in sync with Assyrian kings featured in the existing discussion. This omission of 4th dynasty history was consistent with the fact that all of our papers to date have concentrated on Babylonian history in the time period running from the middle of the 10th to the end of the 8th centuries BC. This paper, for the 1st (and possibly the last) time, looks much further back in time. Already we have had cause to look briefly at the 5th dynasty. We now include the 4th dynasty in our deliberations (see Table 7 below).

Table 7: List of kings of Dynasty IV of Babylon also known as the 2nd Dynasty of Isin or Isin II (copied from the Wikipedia article entitled "List of kings of Babylon"

Ruler	Reigned	Comments
Marduk-kabit-ahheshu	c. 1155–1140 BC	Founded first native Mesopotamian Dynasty in Babylon
Itti-Marduk-balatu	c. 1140–1132 BC	
Ninurta-nadin-shumi	c. 1132–1126 BC	
Nabu-kudurri-usur (Nebuchadnezzar I)	c. 1126–1103 BC	Contemporary and rival of Ashur-resh-ishi I of Assyria
Enlil-nadin-apli	c. 1103–1100 BC	Fought with Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria
Marduk-nadin-ahhe	c. 1100–1082 BC	Fought with Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria
Marduk-shapik-zeri	c. 1082–1069 BC	Entente cordial with Aššur-bêl-kala of Assyria
Adad-apla-iddina	c. 1069–1046 BC	Married daughter to Aššur-bêl-kala of Assyria
Marduk-ahhe-eriba	c. 1046 BC	
Marduk-zer-X	c. 1046–1033 BC	
Nabu-shum-libur	c. 1033–1025 BC	Dynasty ends with incursions of the Arameans

Though we include the names of all the known kings of the 4th dynasty of Babylon, our interest is restricted to the 4th king of this 4th dynasty. His name – Nabu-kudurru-usur I (or in its anglicized form - Nebuchadnezzar I). And our reason for examining his reign is two-fold. On the one hand the traditional history makes frequent reference to this king as the sovereign who

retrieved from Elam the Bel-Marduk statue stolen by Kudur-Nahhunte, which fact, if true, would completely discredit our revised history. On the other hand, this king is often cited as the antecedent of oblique references in later documents alluding to earlier times when a stolen Marduk statue, absent from Babylon, *was* returned to that city. In the paragraphs which follow we answer both of these supposed objections to our revised chronology, thus paving the way for a detailed summary of what actually happened vis-à-vis the return of the Marduk statue over three decades after its removal in 1155 BC. Thus our 5th point will occupy considerably more space than points 1-4 combined.

In the next dozen pages we have but one objective, namely, to defend the integrity of our revised chronology by demonstrating that Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1103) *did not* retrieve any statue of the god Bel-Marduk from Elam, much less one stolen in 1155 BC by the Elamite king Kudur-Nahhunte. That assumed fact is a total fabrication of the traditional history. We then follow with several pages outlining what did in fact happen in this same time frame, at which point this 8th paper ends with a brief discussion of the synchronisms provided by this revision of Amorite and Sealand dynasty dates. This may be time-consuming, but in the opinion of this author it is an absolute necessity.

I. Supposed recovery and return of the statue of Bel-Marduk by the 4th dynasty king Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1103) ca 30 plus years after its alleged removal by the Elamite king Kudur-Nahhunte in 1155 B.C.

In this section we look at the several documents on which the traditional history relies in their deviant attempt to demonstrate that Nebuchadnezzar I, the 4th king of the 4th dynasty of Babylon, invaded Elam and retrieved from thence a statue of the god Marduk, supposedly stolen by Kudur-Nahhunte over three decades earlier (1155 BC). The documents are presented under three headings, entitled respectively 1) Two Kudurrus, 2) The Marduk Prophecy, and 3) The Tablet K3426. The first section discusses the only two inscriptions authored by Nebuchadnezzar I that are typically cited as proof positive of the Elamite campaign and the recovery of the statue of Bel-Marduk. The second and third sections deal with two documents, neither of which is contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar I, which nevertheless give the appearance of indirectly supporting one or several aspects of that same scenario, though absent any explicit reference to the recovery of any statue from Elam.

Two Kudurrus. Read any account of the retrieval of the Bel-Marduk statue from Elam by Nebuchadnezzar I and the commentary will be footnoted with a reference to either one or two source documents, both land grant kudurrus authored by Nebuchadnezzar I and published by L.W. King in his 1912 volume entitled *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum*. The one document, translated from the tablet BM 90858 and referenced as BBSt vi by commentators, records a land grant to an army officer, a chariot commander named Ritti-Marduk, for services rendered during Nebuchadnezzar's Elamite campaign. Why it

is cited in support of the contention that a Marduk statue was recovered during that operation is beyond the ken of this author, and to be fair, reference to this document is mentioned by only a few authors. Let the reader access King's volume following the link provided above, and read the translation beginning on page 29. He/she will search in vain for any mention of statue. We will say no more about this kudurru inscription.

More commonplace is the citation of BBSt xxiv, a translation of the table BM 92987, usually the only source alleged for the recovery of the Marduk statue. More specifically, the references typically allude to lines 7-14 on the obverse of the tablet, translated on page 96 of King's volume. BBSt xxiv is described by King as a "stone tablet engraved with a charter of Nebuchadnezzar I". It is yet another land grant kudurru of the type we have quoted from many times in previous papers. As with all of the kudurrus and memorial tablets translated by King in this important volume, the noted scholar begins with a brief summary of the contents. Bearing in mind that this kudurru is often cited as the only contemporary evidence of Nebuchadnezzar's razzia into Elam, and of his supposed retrieval of the Bel-Marduk statue, we should at minimum expect to find some reference to the Marduk statue in King's summary statement. If so, we would be disappointed. We quote the entirety of King's remarks below:

> Copy of a deed recording a grant of land and privileges to Shamua and his son Shamaa, priests of the Elamite god Ria, who, when fugitives from Elam, secured Nebuchadnezzar's protection. The king undertook an expedition against Elam on their behalf, and brought back with him the image of the god Ria, whose cult he inaugurated in the Babylonian city of Khussi, after he had brought the god into Babylon at the Feast of the New Year. The deed records the grant of five estates, with a total area of one hundred and thirty *gur*, to the two Elamite priests and their god, and it exempts this land in future from all liability to taxation or forced labour. BBSt xxiv p. 96

Lest we accuse King of an important oversight/omission we need to examine the relevant lines of text and determine for ourselves if a mistake has been made, since it is apparent from the language of the previous quote that the only item of interest retrieved from the Elam raid was a statue of the Elamite god Ria. To this end we quote the entirety of lines 1-14 contained on the obverse of BM 92987.

(1) Shamua and his son Shamaa,
(2) the sons of Nur-lishir, the priest of Ria,
(3) of the city of Kin-sharri, from before the king of Elam
(4) to Nebuchadnezzar, the king,
(5) to the land of Kar-Duniash
(6) had fled, and
(7) Nebuchadnezzar, the king,
(8) undertook an expedition on their behalf,
(9) and they went with him to Elam
(10) and he overthrew Elam.

(11) The hand of Bel he took, and Ria
(12) together with Bel he carried into Babylon
(13) and from Babylon he brought Ria
(14) into the city of Khussi.

Admittedly the abrupt transition from verse 10 to verse 11 in BBSt xxiv is awkward, but that hardly justifies the attempt by traditional scholars to find warrant in verses 11-14 for their mistaken opinion that Nebuchadnezzar I recovered a stolen Marduk statue on his Elamite campaign. A careful reading of the text convinces us, as it apparently convinced L.W. King, that there is no reference to the confiscation of the Marduk statue in the quoted text. Indeed, it is absolutely clear that the account of the Elamite raid terminates in verse 10, at which point even the recovery of a statue of Ria is not mentioned, and in the opinion of this author there is no justification for King's remark referring to its confiscation. The two named priests from the cult of the god Ria, fleeing Elam for whatever reason, would unquestionably have brought with them the statue of their god.

Beginning in verse 11 the text shifts its attention abruptly to Babylon and to a ceremony, perhaps, but not certainly, the yearly celebration of the New Year in Babylon, where a procession is underway involving the presence of the statues of the god's Bel-Marduk and Ria. Insufficient detail is provided as to when this procession took place, whether soon after the return of Nebuchadnezzar's army, or months or even years later. And absolutely no statement in the text even hints at the fact that the statues of the two gods were recovered from the Elamite campaign, save for the fact that the celebration in Babylon is described immediately following the account of the Elamite campaign. Scholars are undoubtedly correct is assuming some connection between the two incidents, but reading into the text the fact that the procession is celebrating the triumphal return of the two statues is an extreme case of eisegesis, and a classic case of the logical fallacy known as post hoc ergo propter hoc .

Under no circumstance should the reader interpret the "taking of the hand of Bel" in verse 11 as an allusion to the "retrieving of the statue of Bel". That would be an otherwise unprecedented use of that phraseology, and one which assumes that verse 11 is continuing to describe the actions of Nebuchadnezzar while on his Elamite campaign. Verses 11-14 clearly describes a related but entirely separate vignette, as suggested by L.W. King in his introductory summary statement. Following the overthrow of Elam in verse 10 Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon, and in order to show favor to the Elamite god Ria, and thus appease a segment of the population of Elam, now his subjects, who had been warring with Babylon on multiple occasions in recent years, he assigned to the god Ria the honor of accompanying Bel-Marduk in his yearly New Year procession to neighboring cult centers, ending with the usual triumphal entrance into Babylon. "Taking the hand of Bel" is a well-known and well documented stock phrase employed in a multitude of ancient texts to describe a variety of festive and ceremonial occasions which took place in the city of Babylon. Let the reader enter the phrase "taking the

hand of Bel" into a google search and peruse the multiple pages of material documenting its use, the New Year's Feast being only one among many celebrations which employ this phraseology, none of which suggest that the celebration has anything to do with the recovery and return of the statue of the god. To claim verses 11-14 of BM 92987 as support for the supposition that these two statues are here being paraded into Babylon after being recovered on the Elamite campaign is unconscionable, an opportunistic and entirely unwarranted attempt to bolster a bogus theory about the return of the long lost statue stolen by Kudur-Nahhunte. May sound judgment soon return to the academic community, and may this errant theory soon be laid to rest.

The Marduk Prophecy. The text of this interesting document, recovered from the library of the 7th century Assyrian king Ashurbanipal and therefore of extremely late date, records three separate captivities of the statue of Marduk, including one where the god resides in Elam, which the traditional history interprets as the result of the 1155 BC raid by Kudur-Nahhunte. As such it is necessary for us to examine and reinterpret the inscription. Throughout the document the god Marduk presents himself as a willing participant in these abductions, twice viewing his presence in a foreign lands as beneficial for the commercial relations between his foreign residence and his Babylonian homeland Should the reader choose to read the document in its entirety, we provide a link to the translation provided by Matthew Neujahr, beginning on page 28 of his volume entitled Predicting the Past in the Ancient Near East.

In the Wikipedia article discussing the god Marduk, in a section entitled "The Marduk Prophecy", the contributor points out the fact that there is a chronological progression in the narrative of the text. According to that author the inscription begins by documenting the sojourn of the Marduk statue in Hatti, then in Assyria, and finally in Elam, thus naming in chronological order the three well documented captivities of the Marduk statue known to the traditional history, namely 1) that by Mursilis in the year 1531 (short) or 1595 (long), 2); that by Tukulti-Ninurta in his battle with Kashtiliash IV in 1224; and 3) that by Kudur-Nahhunte in 1155. Accordingly the statement is made that

> The first two sojourns are described in glowing terms as good for both Babylon and the other places Marduk has graciously agreed to visit. The episode in Elam, however, is a disaster, where the gods have followed Marduk and abandoned Babylon to famine and pestilence. Marduk prophesies that he will return once more to Babylon to a messianic new king, who will bring salvation to the city and who will wreak a terrible revenge on the Elamites. This king is understood to be Nabu-kudurru-uṣur I, 1125-1103 BC.

Lest the reader view this aspect of the Marduk Prophecy as confirmation of the accuracy of the traditional history we point out, in passing, that the inscription actually favors the revised history narrative. While there is no convention that demands that narrated events be presented in chronological order, there is a strong presumption that this will be the case. And

the revised history, like the traditional history, also recognizes three thefts of the Marduk statue, and its removal to Hatti, to Assyria, and to Elam, in that order. But in the revised history those captivities are much more recent than those named in the traditional history, and therefore much more likely to be remembered by scribes composing the Marduk Prophecy sometime around the year 650 BC. We refer, of course, to the confiscations of the Marduk statue by Mursilis in 1155 BC, by Tukulti-Ninurta II in 891 BC, and by Kudur-Nahhunte in 715 BC.

There is yet another reason why we mention the ordering of the invasions and the capture of the Marduk statue in the previous paragraph. Assuming that the reader is already convinced that the Mursilis invasion took place in 1155 BC and that the revised history interpretation of events is correct, the Marduk prophecy serves to argue a point we made in our paper #6. In the revised history there were actually four documented conquests of Babylon and associated removals of the Marduk statue. Clearly one is missing from the Marduk Prophecy inscription. We refer to the invasion which should theoretically have been mentioned first, since it took place in 1224 BC, 170 years prior to the invasion by Mursilis. The failure of the Marduk Prophecy to mention the theft of the Marduk statue by Tukulti-Ninurta I in 1224 BC appears to support our suggestion on page 24 of paper #6 that the first Tukulti-Ninurta did not, in fact, remove a statue of the god Marduk when he defeated a king Kashtiliashu I in 1224. The removal of the Marduk statue at that time is supported by a single inscription, the lengthy (and badly preserved) copy of the Tukulti-Ninurta epic. Thus we wrote in our paper #6, in the course of defending the possibility that two namesake kings (Tukulti-Ninurta I and Tukulti-Ninurta III) conceivably did both attack and plunder the city of Babylon and remove the identical statue of Bel:

> Tukulti-Ninurta II was almost certainly familiar with the Tukulti-Ninurta epic, and the central role played by the removal of the statue of Bel in that drama, and would be inclined to replicate that feat. *There is also the remote possibility that the first Tukulti-Ninurta did not actually remove the god's image, in spite of the mention of that fact in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic. Lengthy epics are notorious for being the work of story-tellers, and for being transmitted orally, with the addition of fictional elements added in the telling. There is a possibility that in the final century of the growth of the Epic, that document began to telescope the first and second invasions of Babylon, incorporating into the story the actions of Tukulti-Ninurta II.* When we read the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic we are reading a late 8th or early 7th century scribal copy, undoubtedly edited many times over the intervening six centuries. (italics added here to the quoted passage)

The Tablet K 3426. Yet one more document is constantly cited in any discussion related to the retrieval of the Marduk statue from Elam by Nebuchadnezzar I. The document in question, tablet K 3426, does in fact mention the absence from Babylon of the Marduk statue, and it does date this captivity of the god within the reign of the king Nebuchadnezzar I. As such we can hardly blame traditional scholars for viewing this document as supportive evidence for their theory of events. The only possible recourse for the revised history is to somehow

demonstrate that the contents of this inscription are consistent with the revised history interpretation of events, precisely the strategy we employed when discussing our interpretation of the Marduk Prophecy earlier. Fortunately, this is not a problem.

In the next section of this paper we will flesh out the story of the 1155 conquest of Babylon by Mursilis I and his removal of the Marduk statue to Hatti. Our primary objective will be to demonstrate when and by whom that statue was returned to Babylon. But one detail from that discussion needs to be highlighted here. We need underscore a fact agreed to by all scholars of the traditional history, irrespective of when they date the incident. Without exception they all agree that the statue stolen by Mursilis I was returned to Babylon by the Kassite king named Agum II (Kakrime). We mention the involvement of Agum II at this time for two reasons. In the first place we are probably only stating something the reader already knows. As early as our table 2, opposite the name of the Kassite king Agum II (Kakrime), we included a comment to the effect that this king restored the Marduk statue stolen by the Hittites. And in that same table we provided approximate absolute dates for this king as determined by the revised history. And it is extremely important that the reader observe that the 1124-1105 estimated dates for the Kassite king Agum II (Kakrime) are almost identical to those of the 4th dynasty king Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1103). It follows that Nebuchadnezzar I was the 4th dynasty vassal king governing Karduniash during much of Agum's reign.

This remarkable coincidence of dates for the Kassite king Agum II and the 4th dynasty king Nebuchadnezzar I provides the rationale for our interpretation of the inscription on tablet K 3426. Even if that tablet did suggest that Nebuchadnezzar I returned the Marduk statue to Babylon, we would have no quarrel with it. It is entirely possible that the statue recovered from Hatti by Agum II was assigned to the care of his vassal Nebuchadnezzar I, whence it was returned to the Esagila temple in Babylon. And *a fortiori* we have even less of a problem when the inscription merely documents the existence of a missing Marduk statue.

The damaged tablet K 3426, inscribed with 20 lines of text, is cited by Brinkman on page 328 of his *Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, (s.v. sect. 4.3.8), an inscription that Brinkman describes as a "poetic document dealing with Nebuchadnezzar's recovery of the statue of Marduk from the Elamites". We are surprised to read those words penned by this usually careful scholar, since, as stated above, the document in question says absolutely nothing about the retrieval of the statue of the god, nor about the location where it is presently residing and from whence it was retrieved. K 3426 does however present clear evidence that at some time during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I the god Marduk was missing from Babylon, apparently held captive by some unnamed "enemy", a fact entirely supportive of our revised history. It is therefore advisable that we at least read the text.

The tablet K 3426 is partially transcribed and translated by Alfred Boissier on pages 76-78 of volume 2 of the journal *Revue Semitique d'epigraphie et d'histoire ancienne* (1897), and by Hugo Winckler that same year on pages 542-543 of the journal Altorientalische Forschungen

Reihe I, Bd 6. The Winckler transliteration and translation is complete, but the reader is cautioned that the *AOF* entry references the tablet incorrectly as K. 2326, an understandable typo. We leave it to the reader to peruse the two translations, Boissier's in French and Winckler's in German. We are unaware of any accessible English translation. We do note however that the existing portion of this inscription, besides the typical lauditory section of self-praise, consists almost entirely of a lengthy prayer addressed to the absent Marduk by Nebuchadnezzar I, requesting assistance in his existing battles with multiple enemies of Babylonia, including Elam. Our interest centers on verse 8 which Boissier translates as "O Dieu, maître de Babylone, dans un pays ennemi, pourquoi séjournes-tu si longtemps?", and Winkler as "wie Lange, O herr Babylons, willst du im lande des feindes sitzen?, which we paraphrase as "How long, lord of Babylon, will you remain in the land of the enemy". This one verse in combination with the mention of Nebuchadnezzar I in line 11 is the only contribution this fragmentary text makes to the argument under consideration. Elam is mentioned, but only as one among several adversaries. The location of and return of the statue of the god Marduk is not referenced. And the only thing credited to Nebuchadnezzar is his expressed wonderment at the prolonged absence of the god Marduk. And we readily acknowledge the fact of the god's absence from his Babylonian temple during the early years of the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar I and his Kassite overlord Agum II (Kakrime). But as we have already explained, according to the revised history the missing god resides in Hatti.

II. Actual recovery and return of the statue of Bel-Marduk by the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty king Agum II (Kakrime) (1124-1105) three or more decades after its alleged removal by the Hittite king Mursilis I in 1155 B.C.

It is time to look briefly at the document which does refer to the return of the Marduk statue confiscated by Mursilis in 1155 BC, the so-called Agum-Kakrime Inscription. An online translation of the document can be found in the appendix of the book entitled *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography* by Tremper Longman, though the reader is cautioned that some pages may be blocked out. A more complete treatment entitled "Inschrift des Agum-kakrime" exists in P. Jensen, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek III*, 1 (1892), 13ff, though at the moment this journal article is inaccessible online. Regardless, we are here interested in only a few lines of text at the end of the 1st column and the beginning of the 2nd column on the obverse of the tablet, which we quote below following Longman. But first we briefly describe the document by quoting a brief summary of this tablet inscription from the Wikipedia article related to Agum II.

> Everything that is known about him [Agum II] is through the Agum-Kakrime Inscription, an Akkadian text written in the neo-Assyrian cuneiform script but in very short lines in imitation of an antiquarian style. It is extant in two copies, which describe the King's recovery of the cultic Statue of Marduk from the land of Hana, pilfered by the Hittites during their sack of Babylon, and its restoration in the newly refurbished temple of Esagila. In it, Agum portrays himself as the legitimate ruler and caring "shepherd" of both the Kassites and the Akkadians. He asserts his suzerainty of Padan and Alman and also the Guteans, "a foolish people, groups variously located in regions of the Zagros mountains.

> The inscription begins with an introduction, giving the King's name, genealogy, epithets and so on. He is a descendent of Abi[rattash], "the fierce hero." It continues with a long narrative of the return of Marduk and his consort Zarpanitum and then lists Agum-Kakrime's many generous donations to the temple and includes descriptions of the purification of the house itself by a snake charmer and the construction of protective demons for the doorway.
> Of uncertain provenance, it is on two tablets, one of which covers 8 columns and more than 350 lines, and including much esoteric detail concerning the temple and its rituals. One was found in the library of Ashurbanipal, purporting to be a copy of an inscription made in antiquity, while the other was found elsewhere in Kouyunjik, ancient Nineveh.

Since the lines of text in this document are extremely short Longman merges multiple lines into paragraphs and simply indicates the line number where the paragraph begins. Thus we read from column 1 where Agum II declares:

> Colum I:
> 24. I am the shepherd of far-flung peoples, the hero, the shepherd who makes secure the foundation of his father's throne.
> 31. I am the king of the Kassites and the Akkadians, the king of the far-flung country of Babylon, (I am) he who made Eshnunna of far-flung peoples live under my command, (I am) the king of Padan and Alman, the king of the Gutians, a stupid people, (I am) a king who caused the four corners of the world to dwell peacefully, (I am) endowed with the favor of the great gods.
> 44. When Marduk, the lord of the Esagil [and] of Babylon (and) the great gods, ordered his return to Babylon with their holy mouths and that Marduk set face towards Babylon [ ] Marduk [ ].
>
> Colum II:
> 1. I carefully planned to take Marduk away and I set his face toward Babylon. I aided Marduk who loves my reign.
> 8. I inquired of Šamaš by means of the diviner's oil. I sent to the distant land, to the land of the Haneans and they conducted Marduk and Ṣarpanitum back to me. I returned Marduk and Ṣarpanitum, the ones who love my reign, to the Esagil and Babylon. I returned them to the temple that Šamaš had confirmed to me in my investigation. As for the craftsmen, I made them reside … a metal worker, a goldsmith, and a seal cutter [ ].
> 28. I donated four talents of reddish gold for the attire of Marduk and Sarpanitum. I dressed Marduk and Sarpanitum in a magnificent wardrobe (in) festival garments of reddish gold...

The fact that the quoted text refers to the "land of Hana", rather than Hatti, as the present domicile of the god Marduk is variously explained by historians. We have our own opinion. It is generally agreed that "the land of Hana" is a reference to a region of northern Syria, located west of the Euphrates and probably in the general vicinity of the modern day Syrian province of Hama, a province whose name derives from the name of it's capital (see the Wikipedia article referencing the city of Hama). The city Hama (= biblical Hamath) is today the fourth largest in Syria, behind Aleppo, Damascus, and nearby Homs. Residents date its many monuments back

to early Islamic times, and scholars generally acknowledge that the city's history can be traced back at least as far as the early 1st millennium (and others further back to the time of the Amorite dynasty). Students of the Hebrew Bible will argue that references to its existence date back to Canaanite times, certainly to the time of the Exodus in the mid-15th century. One quote from the Wikipedia article cited earlier in this paragraph provides sufficient testimony to the prominence and antiquity of Hama(th) and the province which it governed.

> The few Biblical reports state that Hamath was the capital of a Canaanite kingdom (Genesis 10:18; 2 Kings 23:33; 25:21), whose king [much later] congratulated King David on his victory over Hadadezer, king of Zobah (2 Samuel 8:9-11; 1 Chronicles 18:9-11). In God's instructions to Moses, Hamath is specified as part of the northern border of the land that will fall to the children of Israel as an inheritance when they enter the land of Canaan.[11] Solomon, it would seem, took possession of Hamath and its territory and built store cities.[12] Assyria's defeat of Hamath made a profound impression on Isaiah.[13] The prophet Amos called the town "Hamath the Great."[14]

Hittite inscriptions have been excavated in the region of Hama, and according to the revised history, this northern region of Syria was at various times in history identified as a Hittite vassal state. It is not surprising therefore, that the statue of a god in the possession of the Hittites would be found in the possession of a vassal king named Šamaš whence it was delivered to Ulamburiash. Every student of ancient history knows the fact that city and state gods were conceived as sources of healing and imbued with powers as remote as assisting a barren women to conceive. They were often lent to friendly contemporary kings for a variety of beneficial purposes. It is conceivable that the statue of Marduk was early on lent to the king of Hamath by the Hittites, who had multiple gods of their own.

But there is at least one additional proposal discussed seriously by scholars. From the language of the Agum-Kakrime inscription it is apparent that the return of the Marduk statue was negotiated rather than coerced, and that a ransom was probably paid for its release. Assuming that the statue resided in the Hittite capital, its transfer to a vassal province or city closer to lands possessed by the Kassites might be expected, allowing for easier transmittal when negotiations were finally completed. In that respect it is perhaps significant that Agum II, shortly before ordering the release of the statue, boasts that he was the king of Padan and Alman. Padan is probably a reference to Padan-Aram, a land mass at the eastern bend of the Euphrates, not more than 100 miles from the city of Hama(th). The location of the city or province of Alman is unknown, but since the two cities/states are named together in several contexts, they are likely located in the same region, easily accessed by officials in the city of Hama(th). If we had access to the cuneiform text of the Agum-Kakrime inscription, or its transliteration, we would be able to discern whether the two names refer to cities or states. Lacking that we include both possibilities in the prior discussion. The argument remains the same in either case.

The discussion in the previous paragraph is relevant to yet another matter related to the return of the Marduk statue from Hatti. When we discussed the Marduk Prophecy on pages 19-20 of this paper we failed to mention one detail of the inscription that may have relevance here.

In the first column, verses 13-20, Marduk declares:

13. I decreed that I should go to the land of Hatti.
14. I called Hatti to account.
15. The throne of my supreme divinity
16. I set up in its midst;
17. for twenty-four years I dwelt in its midst.
18. The (commercial) caravans of the Babylonians
19. I established in its midst.
20. Its [...], its goods and property

The figure 24 years for the domicile of the Marduk statue in Hatti is at odds with our 1124-1105 dating of Agum II (Kakrime) in Table 2 and with the traditional history dates for the 4th dynasty king Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1103). If those dates are correct, and we have no reason to doubt that they are, then the return of the Marduk statue absconded in 1155 by Mursilis I cannot be dated much earlier than 1120, thirty five years later. We could, of course, simply discount the data in the Marduk Prophecy, since it was written over four hundred years after the fact. But there does exist a plausible explanation. Assuming that the statue resided in Hatti for 24 years before being transferred to the land of Hama(th), where it resided until returned to Babylon another dozen years later, we can reconcile the disparate numbers. It is not an important matter, but it does need to be mentioned in passing.

At this point we rest our case. Our five arguments are now complete and should suffice to defend the integrity of the revised history. The Amorite dynasty ended in the year 1155 and it began 296 years prior, in 1451 BC according to our Table 6. The dates for Hammurabi in the revised chronology are 1351-1309 BC. All of these dates were previously incorporated into our Figure 2 timeline.

It is time to conclude our paper by rehearsing the many synchronisms discussed in the course of this revision of the dates for the Amorite and Sealand dynasties, and to introduce several more which serve to confirm the accuracy of the revised timelines.

C. Synchronisms

At this point in time we have dated the first 16 Kassite kings and separately and independently determined absolute dates for the beginning and end of the 1st (Amorite) and 2nd (Sealand) dynasties.

At no time did we confirm that the beginning dates of the two dynasties, each obtained by a different methodology, were accurate. We correct that omission in this our concluding section, where we are primarily concerned with synchronisms.

Thus far in this paper

1) we have utilized the fact that Mursilis I of Hatti and Samsu-ditana (1186-1155), the last king of the 1st Amorite dynasty, were contemporaries. That fact was borrowed from the traditional history, and with a change of dates was used to prove that the 1st dynasty of Babylon ended, and was succeeded immediately by the 4th dynasty of Babylon, in 1155 BC. We argued also that several of the latter kings of the Amorite dynasty, including Samsu-ditana its ultimate king, were vassals of the Kassites, as were the 4th dynasty kings who succeeded them. We never did discuss the name of the Kassite king who was ruling at the time of the Mursilis I invasion, nor who was governing Assyria at that time, though on the basis of dates alone we can tentatively suggest that they would be Hurbazum (1163-1143), the 7th Kassite king, and Ashur-dan I (1179-1133) of Assyria. Our omission of their names was not an oversight. We simply had no inscriptional evidence supporting our conjecture.

2) we have demonstrated that the 9th Kassite king Agum II (Kakrime) and Nebuchadnezzar I, his vassal in the 4th dynasty of Babylon, were contemporaries. Both kings were governing Karduniash at the time the statue of Bel-Marduk, stolen by Mursilis I in 1155 BC, was returned to the Esagila temple in Babylon ca 1120 BC. Once again we did not discuss other synchronisms, though it is a well-established fact that Nebuchadnezzar I was also a contemporary of the Assyrian king Ashur-resh-ishi I (1133-1115).

3) we have detailed the invasion of Ulamburiash which caused Ea-gamil, the terminal king of the Sealand dynasty to flee the country, effectively bringing that dynasty to an end in 1025 BC. The end of the Sealand dynasty was also synchronized with the demise of last king of the 4th dynasty of Babylonia, named Nabu-shum-libur and the installation of the first king of the 5th (= 2nd Sealand) dynasty named Simbar-Shipak). While as yet we have found no inscriptional evidence to associate these kings with Shalmaneser II (1031-1019), his dates suggest he was a contemporary (and we have done little beyond a brief google search to investigate the matter.

All of the synchronisms mentioned above have been incorporated into a table for easy reference (see Table 8 on the following page). We have also included a line of contemporary kings all dated to the first decade of the 13th century BC. The synchronisms in this important row (top row in our table, dated 1290 BC) was immediately apparent when, in our revision of the Sealand dynasty, we observed that that dynasty and the Kassite dynasty both began within a decade of one another, and that both of these dynasties emerged within the reign of Samsuiluna (1309-1271). That is simply too much of a coincidence. There must be an explanation.

Historians have long known that the Amorite dynasty fragmented badly during the initial years of the lengthy reign of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's successor. It is imperative that we examine the reign of this king to find an explanation for the synchronisms, hopefully thereby confirmation that our revised chronology is correct. As it turns out, we have been remarkably successful in re-dating all three dynasties, the Amorites, the Sealand kings, and the Kassites. The link with the Assyrian king Adad-nirari

in the top row of Table 8 is a bonus, enabling us for the first and only time to synchronize Amorite, Sealand, Kassite and Assyrian kings.

Table 8: Synchronisms existing at the time of the key raids mentioned in this paper.

Revised history dates	Event	Babylonian vassal kings	Sealand dynasty kings	Kassite dynasty kings	Assyrian kings
1290 BC	Kassite invasion of Babylonia	Samsu-iluna (1309-1271) 1st dynasty	Ilum-ma-ili (1300-?)	Gandash (1st king) (1290-1264)	Adad-nirari I (1305-1274)
1155 BC	Mursilis I invasion of Babylonia	Samsu-ditana (1186-1155) 1st dynasty		Hurbazum (7th king) 1163-1143	Ashur-dan I 1179-1133
ca 1120 BC	Return of statue of Bel-Marduk	Nebuchadnezzar I 4th dynasty		Agum-Kakrime (9th king)	Ashur-resh-ishi I (1133-1115)
ca 1028 BC	Kassite invasion of Sealand	Nabu-shum-libur 1033-1925 4th dynasty Simbar-shipak 1025-1008) 5th dynasty	Ea-gamil (?-1025)	Ulamburiash (13th king) (1047-1025)	Shalmaneser II (1031-1019)

Synchronisms with the 1290 Invasion of Babylonia by Gandash. In our earlier paper #3 we argued that in 1290 BC Gandash, the 1st king of the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty of Babylon, invaded Mesopotamia, attacked Babylonia, and threatened Assyria. While we did not discuss the kingship situation prevailing in Babylonia at that time, because we had yet to introduce the Amorite and Sealand dynasties into our revision of history, we did discuss the conflict that existed between the Kassites and the Assyrians, concluding that the invasion of Babylonia by Gandash took place during the reign of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (1305-1274), son of Arik-den-ili (see paper #3, bottom of p.7 through to the middle of p.9). We will not repeat that discussion here save to quote our introduction to those two pages of commentary.

> A glance at the Wikipedia article on the reign of Adad-nirari I informs us that this monarch "is the earliest Assyrian king whose annals survive in any detail". That is most fortunate, because those annals, combined with the few extant records related to the rule of his father Arik-den-ili (1317-1306 B.C.), inform us quite clearly that not only did the Kassites *not inhabit* Babylonia during the reign of Arik-den-ili, but that *they were present in Babylonia* during Adad-nirari's time in office, threatening to extend their dominance into Assyria.

In the previous section of this paper we independently determined the date when the Amorite dynasty ended (1155 BC) and when it began (1451 BC). We were also able to provide dates for Hammurabi (1351-1309) and his son Samsu-Iluna (1309-1271). Based solely on these dates for

Samsu-iluna we are able to state conclusively that this king must be identified as the recipient of the Kassite attack on Babylonia in 1290 BC., following which he served the balance of his 38 year reign as a vassal to the Kassites. His successors followed suit. From 1290 BC to the end of the dynasty in 1155 BC the Amorites remained a vassal state. And we are most fortunate to have independent confirmation that the Kassites did make their first appearance in Karduniash during the reign of Samsu-iluna. The relevant inscription is unfortunately damaged, but sufficient text survives to lend support to our claim. And the troubled circumstances of his reign also lend credence to our claim that not only did this king suffer a devastating defeat at the hands of the Kassites, but that his reign also witnessed the loss of the Sealand area of Babylonia (ca 1300 BC). We let a single credible source fill in the details.

The *Cambridge Ancient History* (3rd ed.) Vol II Part I, follows up a lengthy discussion of the illustrious reign of Hammurabi with a section entitled "The Successors of Hammurabi" (pp. 220-224). C.J. Gadd, the distinguished author of this section, begins by noting how the Amorite kingdom disintegrated almost immediately following the death of Hammurabi:

> Nevertheless, it is clear that after the first few years of Samsuiluna's reign the kingdom of Babylon was in ever-worsening straits, with enemies springing up both at home and on the frontiers. As might be expected in these circumstances the evidence becomes scantier, while the connexions of events are hidden and the chronology is undefined. No more than occasional glimpses are revealed by the date-formulae, themselves not always completely reliable, reinforced by the few royal building-inscriptions and by inferences of various kinds based upon the dates of private contracts and the names of person figuring in them. King-lists and chronicles, written at a later period, afford valuable secondary information. (CAH 3rd II, 1, p. 220)

Considering the dearth of inscriptional evidence, the one surviving reference to the Kassites is welcomed with some relief. Gadd continues:

> Much is heard of battles in the reign of Samsuiluna, both on his frontiers and even in the homeland, but very little of the event most important in historical perspective, that commemorated in the ninth year-date, when 'Samsuiluna the king . . . the Kassite host', i.e. no doubt 'defeated' them, but this barest of mentions is all that marks the first appearance of the power destined to supplant the First Dynasty of Babylon. CAH 3rd II, 1, p. 220

It is clear from our revised timeline that Gadd has failed to comprehend the significance of the damaged inscription, and he supplies the word "defeated" rather than the phrase "succumbed to", or some equivalent, to the missing section. But even if Gadd correctly interprets the reference, we would necessarily read between the lines and view the statement as an admission of a Kassite victory. Samsuiluna had great difficulty combating local tribal groups. He was in no position to successfully defend Babylonia against the emerging Kassite Empire. And defeated kings rarely, if ever, admit their failure.

The ninth year of Samsuiluna (1301 BC) thus appears to mark the end of Amorite independent rule, the beginning of its vassalage to the Kassites. The fact that this date does not agree precisely with the date 1290 BC date we determined in our previous papers for the Kassite invasion of Babylonia can probably be explained as a result of the subjectivity involved in the dating of the Amorite kings who followed Samsuiluna. We observe in our table 5 on page 12 above that the following four Amorite kings have been assigned reign lengths of 28, 37, 20, and 31 years respectively by modern scholars, all large numbers and arguably open to question. We note especially that Ammiditana the anti-penultimate king in the dynasty is assigned 37 years instead of the 25 years allotted him by the Babylonian king list B. If that single reign length were to be reduced by a decade, bringing the number into line with the king list, then the BC dates for Samsuiluna, Hammurabi, and all earlier kings of the dynasty would reduce by ten years, and the Kassite invasion which defeated Samsuiluna would then be dated 1291, precisely in line with our 1290 BC date.

Only one other king on the top line of our table of synchronisms needs to be mentioned (again) before closing this paper. Early on we discussed Ilum-ma-ili, the initial king of the Sealand dynasty (see pages 8ff) whose defection from Babylonian control we have dated to the approximate year 1300 BC, a decade into the reign of Samsu-iluna. We mentioned at that time that Ilum-ma-ili was a contemporary of Hammurabi's son and successor Samsu-iluna, and that the beginning of his independent rule likely took place early in that king's reign. We also noted then that we would return to describe his rebellion in the final section of this paper. We fulfill that promise here, once again using Gadd and the *Cambridge Ancient History* as our source. Speaking about the Sealand dynasty Gadd comments:

> The founder, who is credited with a suspiciously long reign of sixty years, has left no record of his own, and all that is known about him comes from a later chronicle, which records that he sustained with success three attacks from successive kings of Babylon. Samsuiluna twice marched against him, the first time fighting a costly but indecisive battle, the second time suffering a defeat. CAH (3rd ed.) Vol II Part 1 p. 222.

The "chronicle" referenced by C.J. Gadd in the above quote is the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, and the text in question is found on the reverse of tablet B, lines 1-10. We leave it to the reader to peruse the badly damaged inscription, if only to see what little we know about the king Ilum-ma-ili, save for the fact that his rebellion began during the early years of Samsu-iluna, and that the year 1300 BC that we have designated as the beginning of his independent rule, and thus the beginning of the Sealand dynasty, must be considered "flexible".

And with that we conclude this paper.

Paper #9 – Hammurabi: In defense of his mid to late 14th century dates

In our previous paper (#8) we succeeded in providing absolute dates for both the 1st (Amorite) and 2nd (Sealand) dynasties listed in the *Babylonian King List A*. In particular we determined that Hammurabi, the 6th king of the Amorite dynasty, ruled during the years 1351-1309 BC, with the possibility that these dates might be lowered by as much as a decade. There remains the task of proving that Hammurabi belongs in that time frame, based on the known details of his reign.

Skeptics will no doubt assume that proving this will be impossible, considering two facts readily admitted by this author.

1) According to the generally reliable *Assyrian King List,* the (supposedly) powerful king Ashuruballit I ruled Assyria in the time frame 1353-1318 BC, his reign overlapping that of his southern neighbor Hammurabi according to our revised chronology. Hammurabi's inscriptions say nothing about Ashuruballit, and instead indicate that during his reign Assyria was ruled by an Amorite king named Shamshi-Adad I, and that when this king died, his son Ishme-Dagan I governed Assyria briefly.

2) This problematic detail is compounded by the fact that according to the *Assyrian King List* Shamshi-Adad I governed Assyria in the years 1807-1775 while his son's reign spanned the years 1774 -1734, dates which have prompted traditional historians, those who follow the "middle chronology" dating system, to date Hammurabi in the years 1792-1750.

How do we reconcile these disparate facts?

As it turns out there exist remarkably simple answers to both of these anticipated objections. And rather than keep the reader in suspense we state them at the outset in the few pages that follow. The balance of this paper is preoccupied with examining documentation proving that our answers are correct. This evidence will be published at a later date in the following paper.

Our answer to objection number one is two-fold. On the one hand, as the reader probably already knows, we have repeatedly argued in previous papers that the king named Ashuruballit, who authored five Amarna letters and presented himself therein as the equal of the powerful 18th dynasty Egyptian pharaohs Amenhotep III and Akhenaton, and who was sufficiently powerful to have at one time invaded Babylonia to install his grandson Kurigalzu II on the Babylonian throne, was not the 14th century king Ashuruballit I named in the *Assyrian King List*, in spite of the fact that traditional scholars identify him as such. He was instead a late 10th century namesake king, assisting the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari II in his battles with neighboring Hanigalbat. In the sequel to this paper we spend at most a few pages documenting the fact that the 14th century Ashuruballit I, the 73rd king on the *Assyrian King List*, was rather a nondescript ineffectual individual, well deserving of Hammurabi's inattention.

On the other hand Shamshi-Adad I was an ambitious and resourceful Amorite king inhabiting a small city state named Andarig, located east and slightly north of Nineveh, bordering Assyria, and almost certainly a former province of that nation. Early in his illustrious career, while ruling Eshnunna, another territory adjoining Assyria, this time on the south, he invaded and conquered Andarig, at the time governed by a dignitary named Erishum. Later still he attacked and overran the city of Mari on the Euphrates, absorbing its extensive domains into his growing kingdom. Finally, around the year 1368 BC, he attacked and conquered Assyria itself. Scholars tend to avoid discussing which Assyrian king was ruling at the time of the conquest. Nor do they specify for how long Assyria remained a vassal state, but it is quite likely, considering the suggested 1368 BC date for the conquest, that Eriba-Adad (1380-1354) was ruling at the time of the invasion and that his successor Ashuruballit I (1353-1318) inherited a vassal state and remained a vassal king through the whole of his reign.

It follows from the previous paragraph that there is no conflict needing resolution in our first proposed objection. Throughout the Hammurabi era there existed two kings in Assyria, Shamshi-Adad I the suzerain and Ashuruballit the weak vassal. Problem solved, though there remains a need to document and verify our claim.

To assist the reader in following the geographical details provided above, we include below in our Figure 1 a map of the Fertile Crescent showing the areas mentioned as they existed in the 14th century BC.

Figure 1: Map of the Fertile Crescent in the 14th century BC showing the locations of Eshnunna, Andarig (in purple), Mari, and Assyria. (Compliments of a Wikipedia article)

Our answer to objection number two hinges on our interpretation of the origin and structure of the upper (earlier) half of the *Assyrian King List*. The reader of our papers #3-10 will readily acknowledge that to date we have had no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of that collated document. Seldom have we had occasion to modify even slightly the absolute dates presented in that listing of kings. And we continue to believe in its substantial accuracy, at least as far back as king #41.

While we have thus far accepted the accuracy of the king names and regnal lengths recorded on the *Assyrian King List*, with due allowance for minor errors in transmission or in reading reign length numbers on damaged source documents, we need to point out that up to now we have been dealing exclusively with the latter half of the King List, focusing on kings who reigned in the late-Middle and Neo-Assyrian time frames. The earlier part of the document is a different matter entirely, since it is structured differently. For the most part it consists of what appear to be distinct dynasties of kings, listed sequentially, but linked together as if they followed one another temporally, though there remains the likelihood that this "link" is merely stylistic, and that these otherwise distinct "dynasties" may well have overlapped to some extent.

Thus it is stated concerning the first 17 kings that they "lived in tents". The next nine kings, numbered #18-26 by modern scholars, consist of a genealogical sequence of "ancestors" of a king Aminu, recorded in reverse order as is usual for genealogical lists, and citing the name Apiashal as the last, thus linking this sequence of names to king Apiashal, the last of the tent dwellers. There follow a distinct list of 6 kings "named on bricks" beginning with king Sulili, son of Aminu, thus linking this listing of 6 kings with the 9 kings named previously, the last of whom bore the name Aminu. Finally there follow the names of 6 more kings, numbered 33 to 38, all identified using the phraseology which persists through the balance of the Assyrian King List:

"KN_1, son of KN_2, ruled for X years" (where KN = a king's name)

The last of these kings, Erishum (II), is a namesake of the first, who is designated "Erishum (I), son of Ilushuma", the latter name connecting this sequence of kings to the previously mentioned list of 6 kings "named on bricks", whose last king was Ilushuma. The structure is now complete, though probably artificially contrived to present at least kings #18-38, if not all kings from #1 to #38, as if they are literal descendants of one another – an unlikely event in either instance.

Finally we encounter the names of our two controversial kings Shamshi-Adad I and Ishme-Dagan I. The genealogical link with the aforementioned lengthy "genealogy of Erishum II" is here broken, since Shamshi-Adad is identified as the son of an otherwise unknown Ila-kabkabi, and text is added to explain his succession to power, including his defeat of Erishum (II).

To save the reader frequent recourse to the online *Assyrian King List* , we have duplicated in Table 1 on the following page the lines on that King List related to the first 40 kings.

Table 1: The first 40 "Assyrian kings" on the Assyrian King List"
(copied from the online Livius translation)

[1-17] **Tudija**, **Adamu**, **Janqi**, **Sahlamu**, **Harharu**, **Mandaru**, **Imsu**,**Harsu**, **Didanu**, **Hanu**, **Zuabu**, **Nuabu**, **Abazu**, **Belu**, **Azarah**,**Ušpija**, **Apiašal**.
Total: 17 kings who lived in tents.[1]

[18-26] **Aminu** was the son of Ilu-kabkabu, **Ila-kabkabi** of Yazkur-el,**Jazkur-ilu** of Yakmeni, **Jakmeni** of Yakmesi, **Jakmesi** of Ilu-Mer,**Ilu-Mer** of Hayani, **Hajanu** of Samani,**Samanu** of Hale, **Hale** of Apiašal, Apiašal of Ušpia.
Total: 10 kings who were ancestors.[2]

[27-32] **Sulili** son of Aminu, **Kikkija**, **Akija**, **Puzur-Aššur** [I],**Šalim-ahum**, **Ilušuma**. Total: 6 kings named on bricks,[3] whose number of limmu-officials is unknown.
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[33] **Erišum** [I], son of Ilušuma, [...] ruled for 30/40 years.
[34] **Ikunum**, son of Erishu, ruled for [...] years.
[35] **Sargon** [I], son of Ikunu, ruled for [...] years.[4]
[36] **Puzur-Aššur** [II], son of Sargon, ruled for [...] years.
[37] **Naram-Sin**, son of Puzur-Aššur, ruled for N+4 years.
[38] **Erišum** [II], son of Naram-Sin, ruled for [...] years.
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[39] **Šamši-Adad**[I], son[5] of Ila-kabkabi, went to Karduniaš in the time of Naram-Sin. In the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, Šamši-Adad went up from Karduniaš. He took Ekallatum, where he stayed three years. In the eponymy of Atamar-Ištar, Šamši-Adad went up from Ekallatum. He ousted Erišum, son of Naram-Sin, from the throne and took it. He ruled for 33 years. **(1813-1781)**
[40] **Išme-Dagan** [I], son of Šamši-Adad, ruled for 40 years.

The point of this brief analysis of the structure of the listing of the initial 40 kings will become more transparent when we examine this matter further in the sequel to this paper. For now we simply point out the fact that there is more than a semblance of similarity between this portion of the Assyrian King List and the Babylonian king list A discussed in our first eight papers. The first two sections in particular follow the Babylonian pattern almost verbatim, i.e. a listing of the kings of a particular dynasty, followed by a brief entry which describes some unique feature of the named kings (usually their ethnicity and/or their domicile) and ends by providing a total for the number of kings in the dynasty. Scholars have been quick to note this similarity, but surprisingly slow to remark on the possibility that these hypothetical dynasties included as part

of the listing of 38 kings did not govern in succession, but rather overlapped to some extent, as did many of the early dynasties listed on the Babylonian king lists. The 17 and 9 kings respectively who begin the Assyrian listing of kings, at least give the appearance of being dynastic groups, and they either approximate or surpass the number of kings in the Amorite and Sealand dynasties of Babylon, which did in fact overlap considerably. Having said that, we are constrained by the fact that, apart from the first 17 kings, the document does provide a genealogical link between each king and his successor. Thus, in this paper, we represent the first 38 kings by a single timeline of indeterminant length. And assuming there is no overlap, then this segment of history may have lasted well over 500 years. The only question remaining is - did these "kings" actually rule Assyria? In particular we wonder what is their ethnicity? Here is our theory.

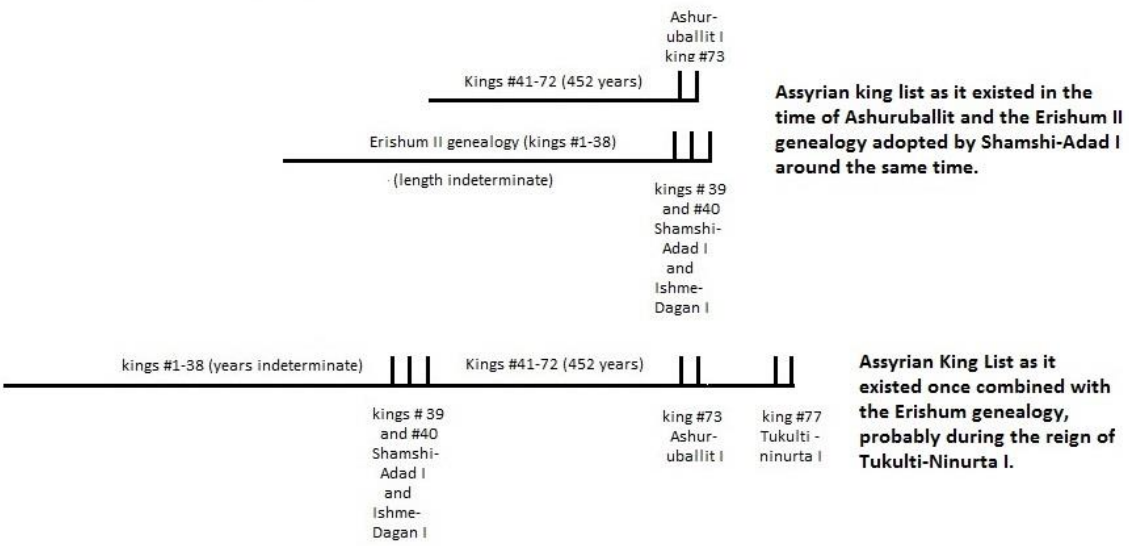
Accepting for the moment that our revised history is correct, and that Shamshi-Adad I was a contemporary with both Ashuruballit (king #73 in the King List) and Hammurabi, then what sense can we make of the listing of kings #1-38 who supposedly governed Assyria prior to the rule of Shamshi-Adad I, an impossibility considering that the immediate ancestors of Ashurubbalit I on the existing King List are well known and reasonably well documented. The reader will surely agree that there would be no possibility of adding the names of Shamshi-Adad I and his son to the existing king list. The appropriate time slots were already occupied by Ashuruballit I, who was the legitimate king of Assyria, regardless of his status as a vassal. It follows that the King List would proceed as per usual, ignoring the presence of another king, whether an auxiliary king (as in the case of our late 10th century Ashuruballit) or a conqueror (in the case of Shamshi-Adad I). But a tradition of "king lists" was well established throughout the Ancient Near East by this time, and thus the need for Shamshi-Adad (or his son Ishme-Dagan) to create their own, if for no other reasons than to lend credibility to their reigns and preserve their names for posterity. And since the home of Shashi-Adad I was the city state of Andarig, bordering Assyria on the northwest and arguably once a part of the Assyrian kingdom, it follows that he might trace back in time the kings of that city-state/province up to the time of his conquest, affixing his own name, to which his son later added his. Thus the existence of a listing of kings beginning with Shamshi-Adad and his son, and continuing through Erishum II, son of Naram-Sin, whom he had deposed, and followed by that kings' supposedly "unbroken"ancestry 37 generations long. How accurate this list is we have no idea, though we will touch on the subject in the pages that follow.

And how is it, the critic will ask, that a genealogy of a king Erishum II, a 14th century BC ruler of a city state adjacent to Assyria, with the names of Shamshi-Adad and Ishme-Dagan attached, came to be affixed to the *beginning* of the existing Assyrian King List, where it was later interpreted a list of the earliest kings of Assyria. While we know absolutely nothing about when and by whom the earliest king list was created, we do have an opinion on how the ancients constructed king lists consisting of overlapping dynasties governing the same general area. We refer again to the *Babylonian King List A*. When the initial author of that List was confronted with two separate overlapping dynasties, that of the Amorites ruling Babylon and one of the

Sealand kings ruling an adjacent land mass to the south of Babylon, he simply listed the kings of the dynasty that began first, followed immediately and without comment by the one that began later. That gave the appearance that the two dynasties did not overlap, when in fact they did. We cannot be faulted for believing that a similar situation prevailed in Assyria. It is very likely that the first scribe who chose to unite the then existing "Assyrian King List" and the "Erishum II" genealogy with the names of Shamshi-Adad and Ishme-Dagan attached, consciously followed the Babylonian methodology. He was likely well aware that the first forty kings in his list were not Assyrian kings per se, but that they did rule a land mass adjacent to Assyria, likely worshipped Assyrian gods, and with the exception of Shamshi-Adad I and his son, may well have been ethnic Assyrians. And since the Erishum genealogy apparently began before the reign of the earliest known Assyrian king(s) he merely listed them consecutively, first the Erishum genealogy (kings 1-40), then the earliest existing *Assyrian King List* which begins with the listing of seven kings (#41-48) who apparently ruled simultaneously over small "city states". If we are wrong, let the critic prove otherwise.

In order to assist the reader in visualizing the situation we have just described we have created the timeline chart in Figure 2 below. The dual overlapping timelines of the shortened Assyrian King List and the Erishum II genealogy are diagrammed at the top of the chart while the merged single timeline of the Assyrian King List is depicted on the single timeline at the bottom of the diagram.

Figure #2: The *Assyrian King List* interpreted as a merging of native Assyrian and Amorite overlapping dynasties.

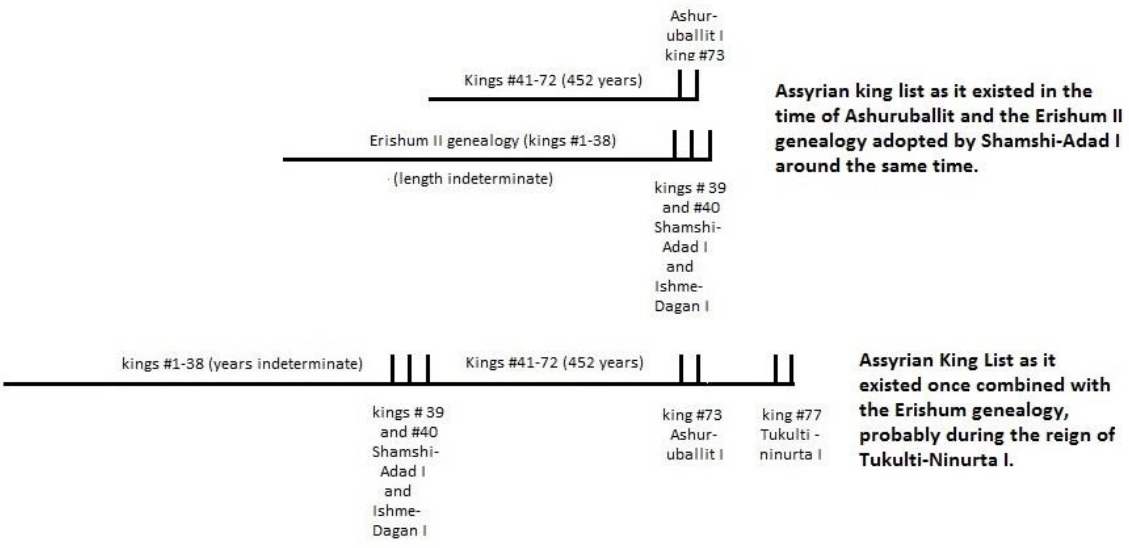

Ashur-uballit I king #73
Kings #41-72 (452 years)
Assyrian king list as it existed in the time of Ashuruballit and the Erishum II genealogy adopted by Shamshi-Adad I around the same time.
Erishum II genealogy (kings #1-38)
(length indeterminate)
kings # 39 and #40 Shamshi-Adad I and Ishme-Dagan I
kings #1-38 (years indeterminate)
Kings #41-72 (452 years)
Assyrian King List as it existed once combined with the Erishum genealogy, probably during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.
kings # 39 and #40 Shamshi-Adad I and Ishme-Dagan I
king #73 Ashur-uballit I
king #77 Tukulti - ninurta I

The traditional history supports the timeline at the bottom of the chart, but without our proviso that it be interpreted as a composite of the two timelines at the top. The revised history argues for the pre-existence of the pair of timelines at the top. Let the reader decide which is correct. Regardless, a scenario which solves the “second objection” has now been proposed, and awaits further argument. For now we leave the matter there.

Paper #10 – Hammurabi: a defense of his 14th century BC dates. Part 2

In our previous paper (#9), part 1 of our defense of the dates 1351-1309 BC for Hammurabi [hereafter we use the dates 1352-1310, for reasons that will become transparent], we presented two separate but related proposals. On the one hand we claimed that both Shamshi-Adad I, suzerain of Assyria and bordering states, and Ashuruballit I, vassal king of Assyria, were contemporaries of Hammurabi, the 6th king of the 1st (Amorite) dynasty of Babylon. On the other hand we suggested that the first 38 kings named in the Assyrian King List might properly be identified as a single "genealogy of Erishum II" - assuming that the connectives linking each of the four constituent groups of kings (#1-17; 18-26; 27-32; 33-38) were correct. We then argued that these 38 kings, along with the usurper Shamshi-Adad I and his son Ishme-Dagan, were not the earliest kings of Assyria as argued by the traditional history based solely on their positioning in the Assyrian King List. Instead we hypothesized that the *Assyrian King List* ought to begin with kings #41-73) on the existing AKL and that this list of Assyrian kings and the kings belonging to the "genealogy of Erishum II" (kings #1-40) overlapped one another as diagrammed in our Figure 1 below. We reasoned furthermore that the "genealogy of Erishum II" was adopted by Shamshi-Adad I and his son Ishme-Dagan in order to lend legitimacy to their reigns and preserve their names for posterity. From that moment on, two separate lists of "ancestor kings" came into being, one citing the names of Ashuruballit I (king #73) and his predecessors back to king #41, the legitimate "kings of Assyria", and one claimed by Shamshi-Adad I, suzerain of Assyria. Later, whether by design or by mistake, the "Erishum II genealogy" with Shamshi-Adad and his son added, was prefixed to the existing AKL, creating the prototype or *vorlage* of the document which exists today, diagrammed as a single timeline on the bottom of our Figure 1, which is here duplicated from our previous paper #9.

Figure 1 - Assyrian King List interpreted as a synthesis of two distinct "king lists"


Ashur-uballit I king #73
Kings #41-72 (452 years)
Assyrian king list as it existed in the time of Ashuruballit and the Erishum II genealogy adopted by Shamshi-Adad I around the same time.
Erishum II genealogy (kings #1-38)
(length indeterminate)
kings # 39 and #40 Shamshi-Adad I and Ishme-Dagan I
kings #1-38 (years indeterminate)
Kings #41-72 (452 years)
Assyrian King List as it existed once combined with the Erishum genealogy, probably during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.
kings # 39 and #40 Shamshi-Adad I and Ishme-Dagan I
king #73 Ashur-uballit I
king #77 Tukulti - ninurta I

Our intention in this part 2 of our defense of the 14th century dates of Hammurabi is to modify this hypothetical structure ever so slightly, and then to provide documentation and discussion supporting the modified thesis.

In this reappraisal of our previous analysis we make a single alteration to the AKL, removing the one name that connects sections 2 and 3 of that document. But first we set the stage for this procedure by briefly outlining the major source documents which have been used by scholars to collate the existing *Assyrian King List*.

The composite *Assyrian King List*. When the reader accesses an online version of the *Assyrian King List*, such as the Livius version we used consistently throughout the earlier paper, it is imperative that he/she recognize the one major shortfall of the source documents used to collate the ultimate version. Without exception they were all composed multiple hundreds of years after the death of the majority of kings whose reigns they itemize, and we know very little about the processes involved in their composition. If based on a common *vorlage* we can only guess at the criteria used to create that single document. All we know is that the existing text of the AKL is collated from three lengthy documents known respectively as the Nassouhi Kinglist (NaKL), the Khorsabad King List (KhKL) and the SDAS (or Seventh Day Adventist Seminary) King List, each with its own idiosyncracies. Additional information is provided by two fragmentary texts, AsKL = VAT 11554 (published as KAV 15), and NiKL, a kinglist fragment from Nineveh, (= BM 128059), published by Millard in *Iraq* 32 (1970) 174-176. The three major kinglists have been discussed at length by modern scholars. We mention only three from among the hundreds of published articles, beginning with J.A. Brinkman's relatively recent paper entitled "Comments on the Nassouhi Kinglist and the Assyrian Kinglist Tradition" in the journal *Orientalia* 42 (1973) 306-319, the source of much of the information in this paragraph. The other two are the classic publication of the Khorsabad Kinglist in a massive article by A. Poebel entitled "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad" published in three sections in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies, i.e.* JNES 1 (1942) 247-306 & 460-492 and JNES 2 (1943) 56-90; and finally, the long awaited publication of the SDAS kinglist by I.J. Gelb in an article contrasting the SDAS and the KhKL entitled "Two Assyrian King Lists", published in JNES 13 (1954) 209-230.

The dates of composition of the three major kinglist versions, as deduced largely from the dates of the last king included in the document, are best summarized by Brinkman in his Orientalia paper.

> The second topic I would like to touch on is the relative age of the five currently published examples of the Assyrian Kinglist. One, KhKL, is dated exactly by its colophon to 738 B.C. Two more, NaKL and SDAS, may be dated with reasonable accuracy by their concluding portions: NaKL ends with the reign of Tiglath-pileser II (died 935 B.C.) and SDAS ends with the reign of Shalmaneser V (died 722 B.C.); and each should presumably be dated within a few years after these events. Most difficult to date are the two fragmentary exemplars of the list: AsKL and NiKL. Poebel argued [JNES 1 (1942) 251] that AsKL is the oldest known fragment of the list; and his conclusion was accepted, among others, by Landsberger [JCS 8 (1954) 39 note 48] and

> Grayson [AOAT 1 109)]. The date proposed by Poebel would probably lie around the middle of the eleventh century B.C. [op.cit. 251]. Millard tentatively dated NiKL to sometime in the tenth century, roughly around the time of NaKL. (Brinkman, op. cit., 315) [footnotes in square brackets added from the bottom of page 315]

In this paper we have only marginal interest in when the source documents were themselves composed. Instead we are interested in when the AKL first took its present form, with kings #1-40 prefixed to king #41 and his successors. From the discussion above we know only that the event must have taken place prior to the 11th or 10th century BC. Later we will remark on the fact that the present structure was definitely in place at least as early as the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 BC). And one small detail in the existing version of the AKL allows us to date its creation later than 1290 BC, our revised history date for the invasion of Babylonia by the Kassites and the ensuing change of the name of the country from Babylonia to Karduniash. Brinkman makes the observation that in the existing AKL there exists a consistent use of the term Karduniash for Babylonia, a usage which extends back to the time of the entry Shamshi-Adad I, where the chronicle-like addition to the name of this 39th "Assyrian king" twice uses the revised name Karduniash.

> [39] Šamši-Adad[I], son of Ila-kabkabi, went to Karduniaš in the time of Naram-Sin. In the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, Šamši-Adad went up from Karduniaš. He took Ekallatum, where he stayed three years. In the eponymy of Atamar-Ištar, Šamši-Adad went up from Ekallatum. He ousted Erišum, son of Naram-Sin, from the throne and took it. He ruled for 33 years.

We have no problem with this entry. In our revised chronology Shamshi-Adad I was a contemporary of both Hammurabi (1352-1310) and Ashuruballit I (1352-1318). Momentarily we will assign him the dates 1368-1336 BC. Assuming that the *vorlage* of the existing AKL was created soon after the year 1290 BC, and that this comment was composed and added at the time, it is not surprising that the scribal author used the current revised name of Assyria's southern neighbor. An anachronism to be sure, but not so egregious an error as would be the case if the traditional history is correct in dating Shamshi-Adad I to the years 1808-1776, or thereabouts. Advocates of that history must assume that the scribe who united the two timelines, and composed the addendum, placed Shamshi-Adad in Karduniash over two hundred years before Karduniash existed. Not just an innocent and understandable anachronism, but an outright blunder.

It is time to introduce our modified interpretation of the structure of the initial 40 kings of the Assyrian King List.

The structure of the existing Assyrian King List. In part 1 of this paper #11 we examined the make-up of the first 40 kings in the Assyrian King List, where we grouped the 40 kings into five subsections for ease of reference. We duplicate the relevant portion of the King List we used for reference at the time, and position it below as our Table 1, adding section numbers for greater clarity.

Table 1: The first 40 "Assyrian kings" on the Assyrian King List"
(copied from the online Livius translation with section no's added)

1	[1-17] Tudija, Adamu, Janqi, Sahlamu, Harharu, Mandaru, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazu, Belu, Azarah, Ušpia, Apiašal.
	Total: 17 kings who lived in tents.

2	[18-26] Aminu was the son of Ilu-kabkabu, Ila-kabkabi of Yazkur-el, Jazkur-ilu of Yakmeni, Jakmeni of Yakmesi, Jakmesi of Ilu-Mer,Ilu-Mer of Hayani, Hajanu of Samani,Samanu of Hale, Hale of Apiašal, Apiašal of Ušpia.
	Total: 10 kings who were ancestors.

3	[27-32] Sulili son of Aminu, Kikkija, Akija, Puzur-Aššur [I],Šalim-ahum, Ilušuma. Total: 6 kings named on bricks, whose number of limmu-officials is unknown.

4	[33] Erišum [I], son of Ilušuma, [...] ruled for 30/40 years.
	[34] Ikunum, son of Erishu, ruled for [...] years.
	[35] Sargon [I], son of Ikunu, ruled for [...] years.
	[36] Puzur-Aššur [II], son of Sargon, ruled for [...] years.
	[37] Naram-Sin, son of Puzur-Aššur, ruled for N+4 years.
	[38] Erišum [II], son of Naram-Sin, ruled for [...] years.

5	[39] Šamši-Adad[I], son of Ila-kabkabi, went to Karduniaš in the time of Naram-Sin. In the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, Šamši-Adad went up from Karduniaš. He took Ekallatum, where he stayed three years. In the eponymy of Atamar-Ištar, Šamši-Adad went up from Ekallatum. He ousted Erišum, son of Naram-Sin, from the throne and took it. He ruled for 33 years. (1813-1781)
	[40] Išme-Dagan [I], son of Šamši-Adad, ruled for 40 years.

As stated above, in our earlier paper we were careful to insist that the twenty-one kings numbered 18-38, all listed as father-son pairs, should be accepted as such, and that the connections between sections 1-4 be maintained awaiting evidence to the contrary, treating verses 1-38 of the AKL as a "genealogy of Erishum". Lacking contradictory evidence we assumed that when Shamshi-Adad deposed Erishum II, he simply adopted that kings' genealogy as his own and affixed his name to it. Only two aspects of that earlier discussion were critical. On the one hand it was necessary to assume that Shamshi-Adad's fabricated genealogy had nothing to do with the Assyrian King List, which existed as a separate and independent entity. On the other hand we insisted that the king Erishum II was not an Assyrian king in the strict sense of that term, a fact that remains to be proved.

In this paper we choose instead to disregard the existing link between the second and third sections of the Shamshi-Adad genealogy, and equate the king Ilu-kabkabu in section 2 and Ila-kabkabi, the father of Shamshi-Adad in section 5, thus treating the entirety of section 2 as the "genealogy of Shamshi-Adad", and the whole of section 1 as the ancestors of that dynasty, with or without the connective. And we accomplish this "about face" by simply following and quoting the well-respected Canadian historian John Van Seters, writing in his 1983 volume entitled "In Search of History: historiography in the ancient world and the origins of Biblical history. We highly recommend to readers of this paper that they peruse the sub-section entitled "King Lists", located on pages 68-76 of that volume, part of a chapter entitled "Mesopotamian Historiography". At minimum we recommend reading the brief excursus specifically related to the first 40 kings of the *Assyrian King List* beginning on the last line of page 72 and continuing through page 76. This will summarize what may be the consensus view of current scholarship on the sections we are most interested in. Alternatively, the reader may simply read on, since we will be quoting extensively from these few pages.

We should perhaps state at the outset that while we do agree with most of what Van Seters has to say, we should preface his remarks by insisting that the kings being discussed, ie. Erishum II and his immediate predecessors, are not Assyrian kings. They do not reside in Assyria, and they certainly cannot be described ethnically as Assyrians, and therefore do not deserve a place on the AKL. We will argue later in this paper that they are either Amorite or (more likely) Akkadian intruders, their dynasty being a legacy of the kingdom of Akkad, dated ca 2334–2154 BC by the traditional history, and ruled by the famous conqueror Sargon the Great, dated 2334 to 2279 BC (middle chronology) by traditional scholars, but tentatively ca 1894-1839 BC by our revised history. Sometime in the early history of the Erishum dynasty of 12 kings (= sections 3 and 4 of our Table 2) the existing tiny temple state of Assur was either "inherited" or "conquered", probably during the reign of Sulili and probably also in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of the Akkadian kingdom. It was held subsequently as a vassal state by the descendants of Sulili for almost four hundred years. But here we are getting ahead of ourselves.

Van Seters does an excellent job in summarizing the contents of the relevant sections of the *Assyrian King List*, beginning on page 73 of the aforementioned book.

> The first section is a list of seventeen names that are called "17 kings who dwell in tents." The second section then lists "10 kings who are ancestors" and gives them in genealogical order with the formula RN_1, son of RN_2; RN_2, son of RN_3. This produces a list in reverse chronological order from the rest of the text. The last two names in section two, Apiashal and Ushpia, are repeated in reverse order from the last two names of section one, thus connecting the two sections. Section three lists six kings and begins with "Sulili, son of Aminu" but then gives five names without a genealogical designation. As earlier, the filiation in the first line is intended to make a connection with Aminu, of the previous section. Section four follows with a series of names using the formula RN_2, son of RN_1, he ruled x years. These are given in correct chronological

> order and tied to the last name of section three. The formula for section four becomes the fixed formula for the rest of the text. (op. cit. p. 73)

Thus far Van Seters has added little to our brief outline of the first 38 kings of the AKL provided in our paper 9. But now he does away with some (though not all) of the links between sections and reinterprets the entirety of sections 1, 2, and 3.

> The list is interrupted again after the first six names in section four by the name "Shamshi-Adad (I), son of Ilu-kabkabi," and a chronicle like account of how he seized the throne from the previous rulers. Now Ilu-kabkabi, Shamshi-Adad's father, occurs at the beginning of the list of the ten ancestors in section two along with Aminu, who was probably Shamshi-Adad's brother and immediate predecessor. Section two is thus a genealogy of Shamshi-Adad. Aminu's name cannot, therefore, stand at the head of section three as the beginning of a line of thirteen rulers before Shamshi-Adad. The duplication of the names Apiashal and Ushpia in sections one and two is also suspect. *This means that the first three sections, which have their own distinct styles, were originally independent, and that the connections made between them were artificial.* (italics added)

But Van Seters is not finished, suggesting in the next two paragraphs that section 1, the 17 kings who lived in tents, bears a remarkable similarity to the initial 19 kings listed on a recently translated tablet found in the British Museum collection. That list of 19 kings preceded the listing of the initial kings of Hammurabi's Amorite dynasty in precisely the same way that the 17 kings in section one of the AKL precede the listing of ten kings of Shamshi-Adad's Amorite dynasty family. The close similarity between the two lists suggests, if it doesn't prove, that the first and second sections of the existing AKL consist of kings rooted in the Babylonian tradition. By no means can they be classified as Assyrian kings. Van Seters continues this argument.

> The task of unfolding the "tradition-history" of AKL, by which these various blocks of material were brought together, is complex. One important control in this discussion, however, must be the ulilization of extant historical and inscriptional information. The texts must also be compared with other relevant king-list and genealogical traditions. Compared with SKL [the *Sumerian King List*], AKL says nothing about the antediluvian and postdiluvian kings or the period of Assyria's domination by the Akkad dynasty and the Neo-Sumerian rulers of the third dynasty of Ur. Furthermore, the pattern of kingship transferred from one state to another is not recognized. Instead, kingship is traced back to the hoary antiquity of the tent-dwelling kings, and the whole list is associated with one place, the city of Assur. On the other hand, the first section of AKL must be related in some way to the recently published Babylonian genealogy of Hammurapi's Amorite dynasty, which also has at the beginning a list of eleven or twelve names that parallel rather closely the first twelve names of the AKL. Since most of these names are tribal or geographic, the list has the character of a group of eponymous ancestors. A rather widespread opinion is that the names represent a common, oral, West-Semitic ("Amorite") tribal heritage which became the traditional basis for both Babylonian and Assyrian kingships. Shamshi-Adad, the "Amorite," is then credited with introducing this tradition into Assyria.

One aspect of Van Seter's previous comment is noticeably out of place, namely his insistence on bringing Assyria and the city of Assur into the picture, this because, unlike yours truly, he remains throughout a firm believer in the temporal structure of the existing AKL, i.e. the fact that king's #1-40 without exception temporally precede king's #41 and following. The reader will surely acknowledge that in the first two sections of the AKL Assyria plays no part. And we will demonstrate later in this paper, as stated earlier, that in sections three and four Assyria continues to play no part, save for the fact that the Assyrian state is a vassal of the Erishum dynasty kings who reside elsewhere. Van Seters is merely reflecting his bias, or rather the bias of the traditional history, which accepts that the first 40 kings must have some connection with the tradition of Assyrian kingship, else why would they be included at the start of the AKL? Why indeed?

When Van Seters refers to a "recently published genealogy of the Amorite dynasty he is referring to an article entitled "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty" published by J.J. Finkelstein in the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* [JCS 20 (1966) 95-118], in which that author discusses at length the similarities between the kings listed in positions 1-19 on a king list contained on tablet BM 80328 in the British Museum, and the kings numbered 1-17 that begin the existing *Assyrian King List*. And since the 19 Amorite ancestors are followed immediately on the tablet by the names of the first 9 of the 11 Amorite dynasty kings (i.e. Sumu-abum to Ammiditana), it follows that these ancestors reigned from sometime in the remote past to the approximate year 1830, when the traditional history dates the beginning of the 1st (Amorite) dynasty of Babylon, or 1451 BC if we follow the chronology of the revised history (see Table 5 on page 12 of our paper #10). And since the similarity between the two lists is inescapable, it follows that the section 1 kings in the Shamshi-Adad genealogy ended their reigns around that approximate date, and were followed immediately by the section 2 ancestors of Shamshi-Adad. If the reader wonders why the Hammurabi dynasty appears to end after the naming of its 9th king Ammiditana, omitting the names of final two kings, the answer is not hard to find. The document BM 80328 was authored by the 10th Amorite dynasty king Ammisaduga.

For ease of reference we have created a chart (see Table 2 on the next page) that itemizes the kings under consideration and summarizes some of the arguments made by Finkelstein. At minimum he clearly identifies kings #4, 6 & 7 of the AKL with three kings on the Hammurabi document. The other associations are more complex, and we leave it to the reader to follow the argument by reading Finkelstein's article, if interested. Meanwhile, we simply take Finkelstein at his word, as expressed on page 99 of his article:

> If these two last equations [GHD 5 = AKL (SDAS) 5 and GHD 8 = AKL SDAS 6] are ultimately proved valid, then we shall have accounted for the first eleven names in GHD (counting two names in each of the first three lines) with the first eleven names in AKL. But even if these two equations are to be rejected, nine out of the eleven names in AKL are accounted for in GHD beyond any reasonable doubt. There can therefore be no question but that *the genealogical traditions of the Hammurapi dynasty and those of the Assyrian King List – the first two sections of which must almost certainly be identified as the "Ahnentafel" of Shamshi-Adad I – are one and the same insofar as they represent a consciousness of tribal origins.* (op. cit. p. 99) (italics are a part of the original text but the hyperlink is added)

Table 2: Names in sections 1 & 2 of the Assyrian King List (AKL) compared to Names #1-19 of the Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty (GHD)

king no.	AKL	GHD	king no.	AKL	GHD
1	SDCS 1 Tudija	*Aram-mardura*	14	Belu	Asmadu
2	SDCS 1 Adamu	*Tubti-Yamuta cf. SDCS 1 composite*	15	Azarah	Abiamuta
3	SDCS 2 Jangi	*Jamqu-uzu-halama cf. SDCS 2 comp.*	16	Ushpija	Abiditaam
4	SDCS 2 Sahlamu	*Heana (cf AKL 10)*	17	Apiashal	damaged
5	Harharu	*Namzu cf SDCS 4 composite*	18	Hale	damaged
6	Mandaru	*Ditanu (cf AKL 9)*	19	Samanu	damaged
7	SDCS 4 Imsu	*Zummabu (cf AKL 11)*	20	Hajanu	Sumuabuum
8	SDCS 4 Harsu	*Namhuu cf SDCS 6 composite)*	21	Ilu-Mer	Sumulait
9	Didanu	Amnana	22	Jakmesi	Zabium
10	Hanu	Yaahrarum	23	Jakmeni	Apil-Sin
11	SDCS 6 Zuabu	Iptiyamuta	24	Jazkur-ilu	Sinmuballit
12	SDCS 6 Nuabu	Bahazuum	25	Ila-kabkabi	Hammurabi
13	Abazu	Sumaliki	26	Aminu & Shamshi-Adad	Samsuiluma

It is at least interesting to note in our Table 2 that the two lists appear to be approximately the same length, at least in terms of generations. On the AKL list Shamshi-Adad is situated in the 26th generation (along with his brother) while on the GHD Hammurabi occupies the 25th position, a rather remarkable synchronism since these two kings are known to be contemporaries.

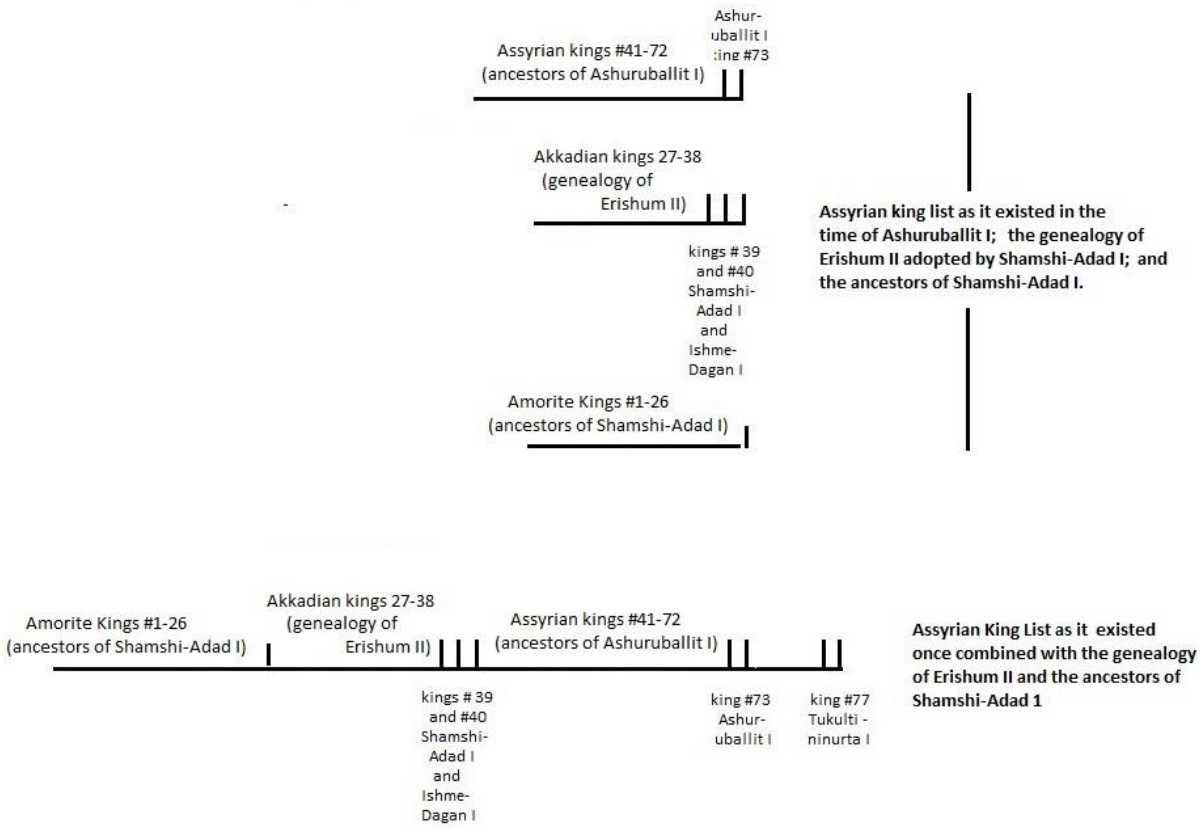
Considering the prior discussion we arrive at the conclusion that the first 73 names of the AKL represent not two, but three distinct genealogies – one representing the Assyrian ancestors of Ashuruballit I (kings #41-72), one the ancestors of Erishum II, probably ethnic Akkadians (kings #27-38), and the third, the Amorite ancestors of Shamshi-Adad I (kings #1-26). It follows that our earlier Figure 1 needs to be corrected via the addition of a third constituent timeline, as diagrammed in our Figure 2 on the following page.

On page 6 above we quoted John Van Seters's opinion regarding the process by which the Assyrian King List came into being. We quote a portion of that opinion again.

> The task of unfolding the "tradition-history" of AKL, by which these various blocks of material were brought together, is complex. One important control in this discussion, however, must be *the ulilization of extant historical and inscriptional information.* (italics added)

Here we follow his advice. Assuming that a scribe in the early 13th century was privy to three separate documents, each recording a distinct dynastic list of kings as per our Figure 2 diagram, all three centered geographically in the area of the Tigris between Nineveh and Assur, how

Figure 2 - Assyrian King List interpreted as a synthesis of three distinct "king lists"



would we expect him to proceed, assuming his objective was to record the separate king lists on a single tablet. We have already reviewed the anticipated response in part A of this paper. Regardless of the degree of overlap of the separate dynasties he would simply list the three in succession, as if they followed one another sequentially, beginning with what he perceived to be the oldest, precisely as we find them listed in the existing AKL and as diagrammed on the single timeline at the bottom of our Figure 2. *Our template for understanding this procedure was and still is the Babylonian King List A.*

We have spent this time outlining the structure of the first five sections of the *Assyrian King List*, and explaining how the constituent dynasties came to be positioned as they presently are on that document, for one reason only. This entire paper sets out to prove that Ashuruballit I, Shamshi-Adad I and Hammurabi were all contemporaries, as they are in our three separate Figure 2 timelines. It is imperative therefore that the reader be convinced by our thesis of three separate overlapping dynasties, rather than be influenced by the existing structure of the AKL which gives the false impression that they ran in succession and were separated from one another by multiple hundreds of years.

Before leaving this section behind, we raise several questions and look at yet one more document that seems to reinforce our argument that the existing structure of the AKL is flawed.

Our first question relates to the incongruity that apparently exists between the listing of the first 40 kings of the AKL and the kings in positions 41-47 which follow immediately. The first five sections of the King List clearly describe cultural development within Assyria, progressing from king's living in tents, to king's involved in building activities (evidenced by their recording for posterity their names inscribed on bricks), to a well- developed social structure, both literate and highly organized, capable of developing the advanced "eponym dating system" which served to keep track of the nation's history and foster contractual/legal commercial processes, such as are necessary to regulate trade with neighboring countries, and enforce laws to regulate societal affairs. Finally with Shamshi-Adad we have clear evidence of a well-developed military and the political skills with which to forge an empire. Then, suddenly and without warning, king #41 and the six kings contemporary with him appear out of nowhere in the King List. All "sons of a nobody", these seven kings appear to be living in a much more primitive world. Once again we quote the relevant section of the Assyrian king list.

> [41] Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody, who had no title to the throne, ruled for 6 years.
> [42-47] In the time of Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody, Aššur-apla-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ipqi-Ištar, Adad-salulu, and Adasi, six sons of nobodies, ruled at the beginning of his brief reign.

The presence of seven kings all governing Assyria at the same time gives the impression at least that the country is divided into seven "city states" or seven "tribal regions", hardly what we would expect to emerge following the death of Shamshi-Adad I. But this puzzling scenario raises an even more serious question.

While it is strange to see a foreign conqueror such as the Amorite king Shamshi-Adad I and his eldest son Ishme-Dagan included in a list of "Assyrian kings", such an eventuality is not impossible. But the situation does raise several questions, all related to the known facts that Shamshi-Adad's reign ended when Assyria was overrun by Hammurabi in that king's 18th year, and that Ishme-Dagan's brief tenure in control of Assyria (assuming that he did in fact inherit his father's throne) was ended by that same Babylonian king. Thereafter, for the balance of his reign, Hammurabi wisely governed the vassal Assyrian province. Assuming these facts, we wonder why the AKL ignores Hammurabi and clearly states that Ishme-Dagan was followed by Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody, and six other non-descript "kings". Something is clearly amiss if this king list is recording an uninterrupted sequence of kings. What is happening? And we ask one further pertinent question regarding this situation. Why is it that Shamshi-Adad and Ishme-Dagan, both Amorite intruders, are accorded a privileged position on the AKL while the Amorite intruder Hammurabi, who governed Assyria much longer than did Ishme-Dagan, and may well have governed more benevolently than either of his predecessors, is omitted from the king-list? If the first 40 kings are actually correctly positioned, we leave it to the reader to provide reasonable answers to these questions.

The document we promised to produce is the tablet fragment BM 98496, attributed with confidence by scholars to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, though that king's name is absent from the text. The tablet BM 98496 was excavated at Nineveh in 1905, published by L.W. King in 1914, and virtually ignored thereafter until in the 1960's [R. Borger HKL I (1967) 659] it was observed that it had something to say about the structure of the initial portion of the AKL. The next translation of the document to appear, the one followed here, is contained in an article entitled "Tukulti-Ninurta I and the Assyrian King List" published in 1976 by W.G. Lambert in the journal Iraq [*Iraq* 38 (1976) 85-94]. We referred to this document earlier in this paper when we argued that by the time of Tukulti-Ninurta 1 (1233-1197), the 78th king of the existing AKL, the three timelines on our Figure 2 were already positioned in succession to one another, making his reign the terminus ad quem for the formation of the *vorlage* of the present AKL. It is unfortunate that the most relevant section of the text, the first four lines on the obverse, is only partially preserved, but enough remains to suggest that the royal author of the text agrees substantially with our "multiple dynasties" interpretation of the first five sections of the AKL. To assist our analysis we quote below Lambert's translation of the first ten lines on the obverse of the document

1 . . their dynasty . [. . .
2 To the dynasty of six kings . . [. . .
3 With their 77 names . . [. . .
4 In their total of 40 kings 24 filiations . . [. . .
5 From the beginning to the "going out" of the dynasty of Sulili, up to the dynasty of [. . .]
6 In their administration the duties of the "overseers" in the presence of Assur were pleasing to him, and he confirmed them forever.
7 In my administration the regular offerings to the gods were established:
8 I added to them and did not diminish, I multiplied and did not reduce.
9 By the wisdom which Ea decreed for me, truth, the . . of the gods, was born with me;
10 People did what was pleasing to the gods.

That this document is discussing the AKL is immediately apparent. The reference to 40 kings, to 24 filiations, and to at least two "dynastic" listings of kings, one beginning with the name Sulili, is sufficient to convince scholars that we are dealing here with the first 40 kings on the AKL. The 24 filiations assumes that the five names which follow that of Sulili on the AKL (i.e. kings 28-32) are each "sons" of the preceding name. The number 24 is otherwise correct. The reference to 77 names in a document identified on other grounds as one authored by Tukulti-Ninurta I, the 78th king named on the existing AKL, further confirms the identification. The King List being examined has apparently not yet been recopied by scribes to include the name of Tukulti-Ninurta himself.

What particularly interests this author is the inclusion of four references to "dynasties", clearly allusions to the constituent sections of the list of 40 kings. We regret the fact that the damaged text precludes our determining whether the same dynasty is being referenced multiple times,

although it is clear in line 5 that the author of the text is referring to at least two successive dynasties, the first which we interpret as a reference to our sections 3 & 4 kings which begin with Sulili and end with Erishum II (i.e. kings #27-38 on the AKL) and the second consisting of Shamshi-Adad, his son Ishme-Dagan and his Amorite predecessors. What is perfectly clear in the next line (line 6) is that Tukulti-Ninurta is privy to details about these dynasties of kings, or at least the most recent kings of these dynasties, that are not included in the AKL text. In particular he comments on their management of the temples in the land, noting that they have introduced some unwelcomed changes to the temple procedure. While not itemizing these changes in verse 6, he does add, perhaps sarcastically, that they must have pleased the god Assur since they were subsequently sanctioned, in perpetuity, for all "kings" to follow, including himself. We surmise that Tukulti-Ninurta has been informed by the temple priests concerning the most recent of these changes, and that these functionaries have credited the latest kings of the two dynasties with introducing them. Apparently the changes involve a reduction in the food (?) items allocated to the gods, understandably considered an offensive change by the priests who actually consumed said items. In lines 7 and 8 Tukulti-Ninurta boasts that his administration has negated those earlier changes, and reestablished the former allocations.

7 In my administration the regular offerings to the gods were [re-]established:
8 I added to them and did not diminish, I multiplied and did not reduce.

Several aspects of this brief text argue persuasively for our interpretation of the structure of the AKL and our dating of the two dynasties. In our view of history Erishum II and Shamshi Adad governed Assyria in the time frame 1388-1336. Their governance of the country, and "oversight" of the temples, ended approximately a century before the 1233 beginning of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. From the standpoint of the revised history we accept the fact that the Assyrian kings who ruled during this century tolerated the changes introduced by the "foreigners", and we can in fact suggest reasons why. But we cannot fathom why those changes would persist in vogue for five and a half centuries without being challenged, which must be the situation that prevailed according to the timeline of the traditional history. And the fact that Tukulti-Ninurta calls the two groups of foreign kings "dynasties" is at least consistent with our suggestion that he does not regard them as part of the Assyrian heritage. They are interlopers, not Assyrian ancestors. He may or may not be privy to information that the latest of these "kings" must be dated at most a century prior to his reign, but he would certainly know that the naming of dynasties at the head of a list of Assyrian kings need not imply that those dynasties were actually "Assyrian", or that they necessarily preceded the reign of the earliest Assyrian kings in the list.

We leave this matter there for the time being. It is time to assign some "revised history" dates to Shamshi-Adad and the Erishum II dynasty that he brought to an end. Only by doing so will we be able to argue effectively that these kings belong to the 14th century where we have positioned them, and by extension prove that they are contemporaries of Hammurabi and Ashuruballit I.

The dates for Shamshi-Adad I and the kings Erishum I – Erishum II. The existing AKL makes a point, when listing the genealogy of Sulili, son of Aminu, in section 3 that the total number of limmu-officials who served during the reigns of any of these six kings is unknown. Since the only means by which scribes could determine the precise reign length of a given king was by means of a listing of *all* of the limmu officials who served during that king's reign, a so-called "limmu list" or "eponym list", it follows that none of the kings of this portion of the Erishum II dynasty could be assigned "reign lengths" on the AKL. Fortunately this is not the case for the six kings who succeeded them. The fact that all kings from Erishum I through to Erishum II were at one time assigned reign lengths in the *vorlage* of the existing AKL tells us that such lists were at one time accessible. Unfortunately only the reign length number for Erishum I is preserved/legible in any of the three major source documents reviewed earlier in this paper. The number 30 remains visible on the KhKL, though this contrasts with the number 40 provided elsewhere on another document. That being the case, no accurate chronology of these kings could be created in the first half of the 20th century, when scholars were totally dependent on only the few existing AKL source documents.

Fortunately, archaeology has come to the rescue since the middle of that century, and multiple "limmu lists" have surfaced, including those belonging to the initial five kings of the Erishum II dynasty of kings. These lists, six in number, are referred to by scholars as Kultepe (or Kanesh) Eponym Lists [KEL), and are enumerated by the letters A through F. By late in the 20th century, these lists allowed scholars to assign reign lengths to Erishum I (40), Ikunum (14), Sharru-kin (40) and Puzur-Ashur II (8). They also provided the eponym names for the first 27 years of the reign of Naram-Sin. Another document (KEL G), discovered in 2001 and published in 2008, provided another 126 consecutive eponym names, overlapping most of the existing eponyms of Naram-Sin and extending over 100 years into the future. Unfortunately the listing of these limmu names provides no clear indication which names beyond the 27 already assigned to Naram-Sin also belong to that king, and which to his successor Erishum II, though scholars were already able to identify the eponym year Idnaya as the first year of Shamshi-Adad, thus demonstrating that the combined reigns of Naram-Sin and Erishum II must have totalled 64 years. The identification of the 33 names beginning with Idnaya and ending with Tab-silli-Assur on KEL G were already known to scholars as belonging to the reign of Shamshi-Adad, since those names were employed by the kings of the city-state of Mari to create an historical document entitled the "Mari Eponym Chronicle" [MEC], a tablet inscription which includes a year by year accounting of significant events in the life of that state, including many allusions to the military actions of Shamshi-Adad I. Thus within the last decade scholars have retrieved the eponym names of all regnal years of the six section four Erishum dynasty kings, plus the complete list of names related to the reigns of Shamshi-Adad (33), and beyond. There are, of course, minor disagreements among scholars on the assignment of the later names on the KEL G list, but nothing which seriously affects our use of these names. For the moment we are only concerned with the approximate results, summarized for us by Klaas R. Veenhof, K.R. Veenhof, and Jesper Eidem, on page 29 of a book entitled Mesopotamia: The Old Assyrian Period,

published in 2008. The regnal years for the eight kings are summarized in Table 4 below, copied from page 29 of that book, with absolute dates assigned them by the three named authors using the ANE "middle chronology". We have added a column converting these "traditional history dates" into "revised history dates". Explanation follows.

Table 3: Absolute dates for kings #33-40 of the composite AKL (middle chronology)

king no.	name	son of	regnal years	traditional history dates (middle chronology)	revised history dates
33	Erishum I	Ilushuma	40	1974-1935	1534-1495
34	Ikunum	Erishum I	14	1934-1921	1494-1481
35	Sharru-kin	Ikunum	40	1920-1881	1480-1441
36	Puzur-Assur II	Sharru-kin	8	1880-1873	1440-1433
37	Naram-Sin/Suen	Puzur-Assur II	44	1872-1829	1432-1389
38	Erishum II	Naram-Sin/Suen	20	1828-1809	1388-1369
39	Shamshi-Adad I	Ila-kabkabuhu	33	1808-1776	1368-1336
40	Ishme-Dagan	Shamshi-Adad I	40	1775-1761	1335-1321

Given the regnal years for the eight kings, absolute dates could be easily calculated by the creators of the above table, this from the point of view of the traditional history. It is well known that in his 18th year Hammurabi invaded Assyria and deposed Shamshi-Adad I. And since Hammurabi is dated 1792-1750 BC by traditional scholars following the middle chronology, his 18th year - and thus the end of the reign of Shamshi-Adad I - must be dated ca 1776 BC in that system. Working backwards from this date, using the regnal years in the 4th column, absolute dates could be assigned to all 8 kings in a matter of minutes, with the exception of Naram-Sin and Erishum II, where the apportioning of the 64 available years was largely guesswork, aided only by the facts that already the reign of Naram-Sin was known to have lasted 27 years and that one King List source suggests that his reign length may have ended with a "4". To simplify the chart we have merely assumed that his reign lasted for 44 years and that of Erishum II for 20 years. Regardless, the dating of the dividing line between the two kings has no effect on our argument.

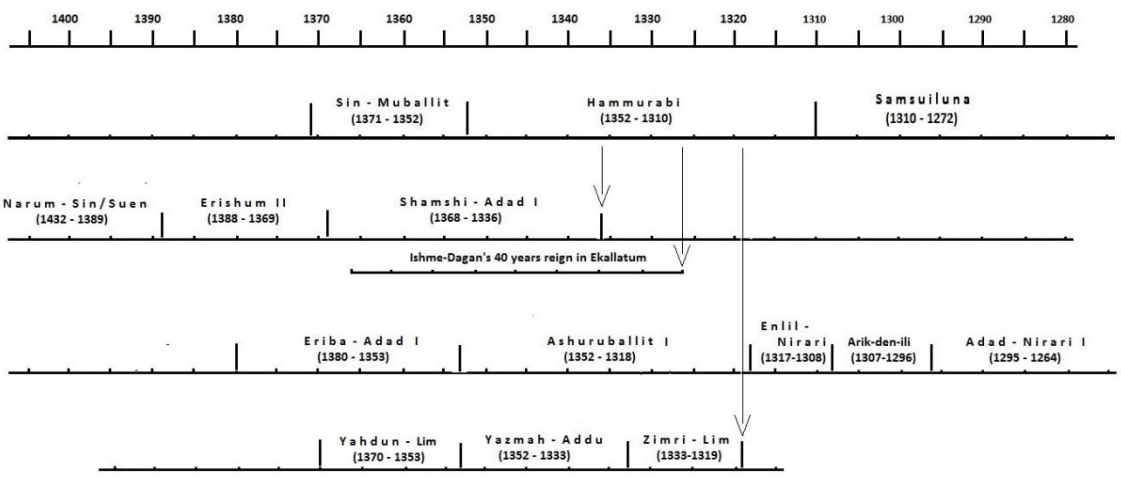
Converting the middle chronology traditional history dates into "revised history" absolute dates takes even less time. In the middle chronology the date for the end of Hammurabi's dynasty is determined to be 1595 BC., and as noted above the dates for Hammurabi himself are reckoned to be 1792-1750 BC. In our 10th paper we remarked on the fact that subtracting 440 years from these numbers yields the dates 1352-1310 for Hammurabi and 1155 BC for the end of his dynasty. That entire paper was concerned with proving that those numbers are absolutely correct. So convincing was the argument there that we were sorely tempted to let the matter here rest. If those dates for Hammurabi were substantially correct then there really was no

need to prove them correct again. And if Hammurabi belonged to the mid to late 14th century, and Shamshi-Adad I was his contemporary, then both must be synchronized with the reign of Ashuruballit I, who is also known to have lived in that identical time frame. As we proceed the reader should perhaps keep in mind the fact that we have already proved our case. But here we proceed to argue our thesis from a different perspective.

Our reasoning in the previous paragraph served to point out the fact that middle chronology Babylonian and "Erishum genealogy" dates need only be reduced by 440 years to convert them into "revised history" absolute dates. That is precisely how the 6th column numbers were derived from those in the 5th column, with one exception. There is considerable debate on how to interpret the limmu names which follow the name associated with the death of Shamshi-Adad I on the recently published KEL G. The AKL records the number 40 as the length of the reign of Ishme-Dagan I, but it is not known whether this number relates to his reign following the demise of his father, or whether the number includes his lengthy reign as an associate king of Ekallatum during the reign of his father. The authors of our Table 3 chart have assumed the latter and we have followed their lead, both in Table 3 and in our Figure 3 which follows.

Having said that we are now able to transfer the Table 3 revised numbers into timelines, one depicting the 1st dynasty Amorite king Hammurabi, his father, and one son; one representing Shamshi-Adad I, his son Ishme-Dagan, and two of the latest Erishum dynasty kings who governed Assyria before them; and finally, one positioning Ashuruballit I, his father Eriba-Adad I and a few successors named on the composite *Assyrian King List*. For good measure we include a timeline for the terminal "Lim dynasty" kings of Mari, a city state which enters the picture in multiple ways. Once that is accomplished we are ready to revise history once again.

Figure 3: Revised history timelines for kings #37-40 on the AKL (Naram-Sin – Ishme-Dagan, kings #5-7 of the 1st (Amorite) dynasty of Babylon (Sinmuballit - Samsuiluna), Kings #72-76 on the AKL (Eriba-Adad – Adad-Nirari I), and the terminal "Lim dynasty" kings of Mari.



A brief history of the reign of Shamshi-Adad I. With the timelines in front of us we are now in a position to outline a brief history of the reign of Shamshi-Adad I, providing a context in which we can discuss precisely where the king Erishum II and his ancestors actually lived in the north of Mesopotamia. We do this with a specific purpose in mind. Constantly we read in current scholarly literature that the kings Erishum I through to Erishum II were Assyrian kings, domiciled in Assur until deposed by Shamshi-Adad when he overran that small Assyrian state around the year 1808 BC (= 1368 BC revised history). Unfortunately that summary statement completely misrepresents the facts. We argue instead that while these six kings were definitely suzerains of the vassal state of Assur, the land of Assur was not their home. They resided elsewhere, as did their ancestors, the descendants of Sulili. Precisely when Assur was conquered and became a vassal state of this dynasty is unknown, but the event must certainly be dated prior to the reign of Erishum I, possibly during the reign of Sulili, perhaps earlier by the dynasty of Sargon of Akkad (in which case Sulili merely inherited the vassal state). But we have no quarrel with scholars who document the care and attention accorded the city of Assur by these kings, and particularly their devotion to the god Assur, patron deity of the city. The many inscriptions of Erishum I attest to his allegiance to many gods, both Babylonian and Assyrian, including Assur, the god after whom the city is named. But nowhere do we find a reference to a palace, or any other detail that would indicate permanent residence in the country. And as we argued in our earlier papers revising Babylonian history, suzerains such as the Kassites seldom permanently occupied the countries they held as vassal states. And with few exceptions they left in place the native rulers of those vassal states. The *crux interpretum* of our argument in this paper is that Assuruballit and his ancestors on the AKL continued to occupy the city of Assur all the while that their overlords, Erishum II and his predecessors functioned as "absentee landlords", to use a phrase we employed frequently in the case of Kassite rule over Karduniash.

In order to condense our review of the history of Shamshi-Adad I, rather than compose our own summary of events, we simply borrow an existing history produced by Marc Van De Mieroop on pages 115-116 of his book **A History of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000-323 BC.** This excellent summary suffers from the deficiency that it is written from the point of view of the traditional history and thus will need to be corrected from time to time. But it will serve well as a base from which we can launch our corrections.

6.1 Shamshi-Adad and the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia

The early history of King Shamshi-Adad is vague to us. We cannot even establish when and where he first ascended any particular Mesopotamian throne. Most likely around 1830 he inherited rule from his father, Ila-kabkabu, in Ekallatum, a city still unlocated but certainly in the vicinity of Assur. There he governed for about ten years, until he had to flee to Babylon when Naram-Sin of Eshnunna conquered Ekallatum. Seven years later Shamshi-Adad took advantage of Naram-Sin's death to return from exile, and three years later he conquered Assur as well. There he integrated his ancestors into the list of city-rulers, and is said to have been king for thirty-three years (for a list of early Assyrian rulers, see Section 18 of the King Lists at the end of the book). This allows us to date his accession to Assur's throne to 1807.

At that time he was still only a minor player in the region. Soon, however, he extended his influence westward into northern Syria, where he clashed with Yahdun-Lim of Mari. Shamshi-Adad took control over the northern Habur valley and annexed kingdoms such as the land of Apum whose capital, Shehna, he turned into his own royal seat and renamed Shubat-Enlil. The mighty kingdom of Mari to his south became easy prey when Yahdun-Lim was assassinated, and probably in 1792 Shamshi-Adad captured its capital. He ruled now an area from Assur on the Tigris in the east to Tuttul on the Balikh in the west. The entire region to the north of Babylonia was incorporated in his state, which we will here call the "Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia" (figure 6.1).

Shamshi-Adad was very tolerant of existing practices in the various states he had united. At Assur he took on the customary royal title there, "governor of the god Assur," and in Nineveh he restored the Ishtar temple said to have been built by Manishtushu five centuries before. Certain cities, such as Qattara, retained their former rulers, who now became his vassals. Local administrative procedures survived, although officials used seals that indicated that they were in the service of Shamshi-Adad. Perhaps his administration imposed one crucial change – the dating of documents with Assur's eponym system to indicate the years (see box 6.1). Under Shamshi-Adad's rule it came into use in such varied places as Mari, Tuttul, Shubat-Enlil, and Terqa. This "Assyrian" system of dating thus became official practice for the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia.

Having to control this large kingdom, Shamshi-Adad, who resided in Shubat-Enlil, placed his two sons in strategic locations. The eldest, Ishme-Dagan, ascended the throne at Ekallatum, the ancestral home, while the younger, Yasmah-Addu, was instated at Mari. The southeastern and southwestern frontiers were thus given direct attention. In the east the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia bordered on Eshnunna and states at the foothills of the Zagros, in the west it bordered Yamkhad and the Syrian steppe controlled by semi-nomadic groups. The two sons in turn were given supervision of a number of districts with governors to represent them: Ishme-Dagan looked after those between the Tigris and the Zagros, Yasmah-Addu those along the Euphrates, lower Balikh, and Habur rivers. Shamshi-Adad directly governed the region of Shubat-Enlil, while military governors were in charge of cities to its south. Ishme-Dagan clearly had more authority than his younger brother, and often scolded Yasmah-Addu for his inaction.

At this point we interrupt Van De Mieroop's historical summary to make a few comments of our own. Our objections begin with the first paragraph, though not with the initial history of Shamshi-Adad, but rather with the declaration that three years after returning from exile in Babylonia this king conquered Assur. We challenge the reader to find any ancient document that refers to a conquest of Assur by Shamshi-Adad. That event simply did not happen. That conclusion is clearly based on a flawed syllogism that goes something like this: "Shamshi-Adad ousted Erishum II from the throne and took it. Erishum II was the "king of Assur". Therefore Shamshi-Adad conquered Assur." We have no problem with the first premise in this syllogism, assuming the accuracy of the AKL which makes precisely this claim following the mention of the name of Shamshi-Adad (I). But nowhere does the AKL define which throne held by Erishum II was being referenced. We also agree with the second premise, but only if we replace the phrase "king of Assur" with "suzerain of Assur" or qualify the term with a clarifying statement. But it is completely illogical to conclude from these two flawed premises that Shamshi-Adad I conquered Assur. This will become painfully obvious once we determine conclusively that Erishum II did not reside in Assur when overrun by the army of Shamshi-Adad I. In fact **neither Erishum II, nor any of his eleven ancestors in the Sulili dynasty, was ever resident in Assur!** Let the critic prove otherwise. By conquering Erishum II, Shamshi-Adad acquired possession of the kingdom ruled by Erishum II, which happened to include Assur. The reader should carefully distinguish the two eventualities. The argument that Erishum II did not reside in Assur will follow shortly.

A second objection relates to the claim made in the third paragraph that Shamshi-Adad (and associated kingdoms) utilized "Assur's eponym system" for dating purposes. That statement is just blatantly false, as future discussion in this paper will demonstrate. Shamshi-Adad used a system of eponyms which originated from a trading community in Kultepe in Anatolia, which must be distinguished from the system operative in the city state of Assur.

Finally, we object to yet another statement in Van De Mieroop's third paragraph to the effect that Shamshi-Adad restored the Ishtar temple in Nineveh, "said to have been built by Manishtushu five centuries before." The inscription relied upon by Van De Mieroop does not, in fact, state that Manishushu's restoration work took place five centuries prior to Shamshi-Adad's reign. It states only that "seven generations have passed" from the fall of the Akkad dynasty, to the conquest by Shamshi-Adad I". At the end of this paper (page 38) we provide timelines which date this time lapse as approximately 350 years. Correcting the language issue involved will serve a double purpose, since the relevant inscription also serves to demonstrate conclusively that Erishum II did not reside in Assur when conquered by Shamshi-Adad in 1808 BC (= 1368 BC. revised history), thus validating our first objection.

The stone inscription referred to in the previous paragraph is published by A.K. Grayson in his volume Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: From the beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I, Volume 1 on pages 22-24. In a moment we will quote the whole of the text. But first we listen to Grayson's description of the item in question.

> Stone inscriptions found at Nineveh record the reconstruction of the temple Emenue by Shamshi-Adad I. Particularly noteworthy in this text is the interest in and knowledge of past history. There is mention of the Old Akkkadian king Manishtusu as an earlier builder of the temple and a statement that "seven generations have passed" since the Old Akkadian dynasty. *It is also evident from this passage that Shamshi-Adad I dates his own rise to preeminence from the capture of the city Nurrugum.* (italics added)

Grayson divides the text of the stone inscription into six sections numbered consecutively 139-144. We leave his numeration scheme intact in our quotation, this for ease of reference.

> 139. [Shamshi]-Adad, the strong one, king of the universe, governor of the god Enlil, vice-regent of the god Ashur, beloved of the goddess Ishtar:
> 140. The temple Emenue – which (is) in the district of Emashmash, the old temple – which Manishtishu, son of Sargon, king of Akkad, had built, (that temple) had become dilapidated. The temple which none of the kings who preceded me – from the fall of Akkad until my sovereignty, until the capture of Nurrugu, seven generations have passed – had rebuilt and
> Lacuna
> 141. I, [Shamshi]-Adad, [king of] the universe, *abandoned* it and . . . and the ziqqurat [. . . . . .] and a ziqqurat, a great . . ., whose workmanship was greater and more skillful than before, I built. I laid the threshold of the temple, the equal of which for perfection no king had ever built for the goddess Ishtar in Nineveh. I raised its ziqqurat. (Thus) I eminently completed it and named it Ekidurkuga, "The Storehouse of Her Treasure".
> 142. The steles and clay inscriptions of Manishtishu were not removed but [restored] to their [places]. I deposited [my steles and clay inscriptions . . .] beside his [steles] and clay inscriptions. Therefore the goddess Ishtar, my mistress, has given me a term of rule which is constantly renewed.
> 143. In the future when the temple becomes old, when Ekidurkuga which I built has become dilapidated, and the king whom the god Enlil appoints restores (it): May he not remove my steles and clay inscriptions but restore them to their places as I did not remove the steles and clay inscriptions of Manishtishu.
> 144. If, (however), that king *wrongly* discards my steles and clay inscriptions, (if) he does not restore them to their places but his steles and clay inscriptions he deposits (in their place): That king has done what is offensive to gods and kings. May the god Shamash, the great judge of heaven and underworld, hand his over to a king who is his enemy as one who gives up a murderer (to the relatives of the slain). May the goddess Ishtar, mistress of Nineveh, take away his sovereignty and term of rule and [give] (them) to another.

A brief description of the city state of Nurrugum mentioned in section 139 is provided by Trevor Bryce on page 516 of The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia.

Nurrugum Middle Bronze Age city and country located in northern Mesopotamia. According to J. Eidem (1985: 101, with n. 84), the country so called extended north of Ekallatum along the banks of the Tigris and included Nineveh. In his view, Nurrugum city probably lay east of the river. D. Oates, however (1968: 31, 39), placed it west of the river, in the region of the Jebel Sinjar. In the early decades of C18, Nurrugum was conquered by Ishme-Dagan, elder son of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I and viceroy of Ekallatum. Subsequently the country became one of the administrative districts of the Old Assyrian kingdom, probably with Nurrugum city as its centre. Its governor was a man called Shashsharanum, who had served in the Assyrian campaign against Qabra and Nurrugum. Large numbers of recruits from Nurrugum were conscripted into the ranks of Shamshi-Adad's military forces. Fugitives arriving in Mari from Nurrugum were to be shared between Ishme-Dagan and his brother Yasmah-Addu, Assyrian viceroy in Mari.

**LAPO* 18: 206, no. 1034 (= **LKM* 280); 270–2, no. 1089, *Mesop.* 170.

Once again we need to interject several corrections, this time to Bryce's description of the city-state of Nurrugum. While we totally accept the opinion of Eidem that "the country so called extended north of Ekallatum along the banks of the Tigris and included Nineveh" we reject his opinion that the city of Nurrugum itself is to be located to the east of the Tigris. The city could well be located west of the Tigris and in fact we favor that location, which better fits with Shamshi-Adad's later transference of his capital to Shubat-Enlil (see map in Figure 4 on page 22 below). Needless to say, the ruins of the city have not as yet been found, though we tentatively identify its location within the ruins of Mosul, on the right (west) bank of the Tigris opposite Nineveh. More troublesome is Bryce's opinion that the city was first conquered by Ishme-Dagan, elder son of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I and viceroy of Ekallatum. Bryce has several sources for this opinion regarding the conquest of Nurrugum. One consists of several letters contained in an archive of correspondence from late in the reign of Shamshi-Adad I known as the *Shamshara Archives*, translated by Jesper Eidem and Jørgen Læssøe in the volume entitled The Shemshāra Archives 1: The Letters. He also depends on references to the conquest contained in the Mari Eponym Chronicle (MEC) which inform us that the invasion force led by Ishme-Dagan against Nurrugum was conducted in the limmu year of Aššur-malik (see 11th line down from the top of page 46 of "The Shemshara Archives"). Since the MEC is known to have utilized the same Kultepe/Kanesh Eponym List years as did Shamshi-Adad I, this year can be precisely dated to the 28th year of Shamshi-Adad I, hardly the time when this king "rose to prominence", to use Grayson's stated opinion of the initial conquest of the city state of Nurrugum. Besides, we cannot imagine what possessed Trevor Bryce (and others) to think that Shamshi-Adad would tolerate for upwards of 25 years an independent city state only a few miles north of his vassal state of Assur, a few miles east of his adopted home in Shubat-Enlil, and bordering, on the north, his patriarchal homeland of Ekallatum, now governed by his eldest son Ishme-Dagan (again see map in Figure 4 following on page 22).

Instead we argue that in year 28 of Shamshi-Adad both Nurrugum and the city state of Ahazum on the Lower Zab River, have defected from his rule. In the Shamshara letters it is clear that military manoevers are underway to restore the two provinces, Shamshi-Adad himself investing the eastern province of Ahazum while Ishme-Dagan retook Nurrugum. Bryce himself apparently understands the situation vis-à-vis Ahazum. His confusion centers on Nurrugum, where he incorrectly regards this conquest as the initial capture of that city state.

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We reproduce below his article describing Ahazum, once again from the book The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia (page 10).

Ahazum (map 10) Middle Bronze Age vassal state of the Old Assyrian kingdom, attested in texts from Mari and Shemshara. It was located in northern Mesopotamia in the region of the Lesser Zab r., between the countries of Qabra and Shusharra (Shemshara) within the area between the Rania plain and mod. Arbil. In early C18, its ruler Yashub-Addu had allied himself with the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (1796–1775), fearful of the latter's growing power and influence in the region. However, within a few months Yashub-Addu had broken his ties with Shamshi-Adad and formed a series of other alliances, with the Turukkeans who were located to the northeast, with Shimurrum and finally with Kakmum to the southeast. Shamshi-Adad retaliated by dispatching an expeditionary force against Ahazum, as he reports in his correspondence with his ally Kuwari, ruler of Shusharra. Ahazum's capital, Shikshabbum, was placed under siege, and despite the support of a troop of Gutians who were in the city at that time, and some Turukkean refugees, the city fell to the besiegers led by Ishme-Dagan. Yashub-Addu was removed from power and replaced by a new king called Halun-pi-umu.

*Lacsséc and Jacobsen (1990), Eidem and Lacsséc (2001: 22–3, *44–52, *70–6), *Mesop.* 170–1.

Even the renowned Babylonian scholar J.A. Brinkman has an opinion on the matter, giving every appearance of agreeing substantially with this author. His opinion is contained on page 316 in the Orientalia article we utilized earlier in this paper.

> One minor topic or textual query which, to my knowledge, has not yet been raised concerns the place where Erishum II, son of Naram-Sin, ruled. According to the wording of the section of the Kinglist dealing with Shamshi-Adad I, Shamshi-Adad, after proceeding north from Babylonia to Ekallate, then "came up" (*ēlá*) [in the sense of going upstream] further north to depose Erishum. This, taken literally, would imply that Erishum was ruling north – or upstream – of Ekallate and not, as Landsberger and David Oates have implied, at Assur. Was the capital north of Ekallate at this time, perhaps removed thither temporarily because of Shamshi-Adad's invasion? Or should *ēlá* be taken simply as a repetition of the customarily used verb without intended geographical precision? In any case, it is worth observing that the normal sense of the verb seems to require that Erishum was deposed from a seat north or upstream of the now agreed on location of Ekallate. [f.n 63] (Brinkman, Orientalia 42 (1973) 316)

A concluding footnote adds specificity to Brinkman's stated opinion, and singles out the area of Nurrugum as the target of the 1368 BC attack by Shamshi-Adad I.

> [f.n. 63] Nineveh and Shubat-Enlil come to mind as possibilities, though the latter is probably not directly upstream from Ekallate and is suggested principally because of Shamshi-Adad's later connection with the town. (op. cit. p. 316)

This discussion leads us to make additions to the map we used in paper 9, a map purporting to represent the political situation existing during the reign of Zimri-Lim of Mari, by which time Shamshi-Adad I is deceased, and the region entitled "Mari", once a possession of Shamshi-Adad I and governed by his son Yazmah-Addu, is now back in the hands of the Lim dynasty of Mari. The map with additions is shown in Figure 4 on the following page.

Returning briefly to Bryce's brief description of Nurrugum we need to underscore one statement he makes regarding the conquest of Erishum II by Shamshi-Adad. He notes that "Shamshi-Adad was very tolerant of existing practices in the various states he had united." That statement accurately reflects the situation as we understand it. And it follows from that fact, in conjunction with our argument that Nurrugum was the first of the many states conquered by Shamshi-Adad I, that the existing trading empire of Erishum II, ruler of the state of Nurrugum, would be continued intact by Shamshi-Adad I, as apparently it was. The status quo in the Kanesh karum would also be maintained, including the use of *limmus* (eponyms) to assist in the trading operations. It also follows that Shamshi-Adad would have no quarrel with the existing "vice-regent of Assur" (*išši'ak aššur*) at the time of the conquest, also known by the title "governor" (*ensi*), whose name is regrettably never mentioned in any of the source documents related to his rule. Life in Assur would proceed "as is". And if we are correct, this would imply that Eriba-Adad I, the existing vice-regent/ensi of that vassal state, would be left to regulate the provincial capital as previously, including *his* use of "limmus" to assist in the governance of the tiny state.

Figure 4: Map of the kingdom of Mari at the time of Zimri-Lim (1333-1319 BC)
The map is borrowed from the Wikipedia article entitled Mari.

Unlike the current generation of scholars, we are absolutely convinced that two independent eponym systems existed simultaneously throughout the 16th through 14th centuries BC, a conclusion based in part on the fact that the two uppermost timelines in our Figure 2 chart on page 9 ran parallel to one another for that length of time. But even if we were to disregard the timelines we would still argue strongly that the Kanesh and Assur eponym processes *must be distinguished*. They existed in communities almost six hundred miles distant from one another; the limmus involved were selected from two distinctly different ethnic groups, one consisting of

Akkadian traders domiciled in Kanesh, the other from ethnic Assyrian religious dignitaries domiciled in Assur; and the functions of these limmus (eponyms) were so completely different we cannot comprehend why scholars would insist on equating them. But they do, and so we expend a few pages continuing to argue this aspect of our thesis.

As far as the question of priority is concerned, we are convinced that the Erishum dynasty copied the use of limmus from the Assyrians, not the reverse as argued by advocates of the traditional history. In table 3 on page 14 above we determined that Erishum I began his reign in 1534 BC. Using the regnal lengths still visible on the existing AKL we can determine that Belu-bani, Assyrian king number 48, reigned during the years 1631-1621 BC at the latest, this without accounting for the reigns of the kings Ashur-nadin-ahhe I and Ashur-rabi I, whose reign lengths are recorded in damaged sections of the three primary AKL source documents. If known, those reign lengths would push the reign of Belu-bani back even further in time. There is no question but that at least a dozen Assyrian kings following the reign of Belu-bani utilized the eponym procedure before Erishum I arrived on the scene. The genius of Erishum I was to employ the system as a tool for commerce, not the creation of the system itself. A brief look at the procedure he created is clearly in order, if only to distinguish it from the system employed in Assur.

<u>The Kultepe Eponym List</u>. We promised earlier to describe the source of the eponym lists which allowed for the production of our Table 4 dates for kings Erishum I through to Shamshi-Adad I and beyond. To this point in time we have only stated that the dates are derived from eponym lists contained on tablets excavated at Kultepe. The details were left for examination at a later time. Now is the time.

It is important that the reader appreciate the fact that the ancient city bearing this name is located in the central part of present day Turkey, a distance of about 600 miles east and slightly north of the ruins of Assur, the religious capital of Assyria.

Figure 5: Map of central Turkey showing the location of ancient Kanish.

According to the Wikipedia article entitled Kültepe it is today an archaeological site located about 20 km northeast of the modern city of Kayseri. The site "consists of a tell, the actual Kültepe, and a lower town where an Assyrian settlement was found". Its name in Assyrian texts from the 20th century BC was Kaneš. The Assyrian settlement was an important trading center in antiquity, referred to in excavated documents as a "karum". It is the excavations at this karum which yielded the tablets which contained the eponym lists which furnished the reign lengths from which our dates in table 3 were derived.

Figure 6: Arial view showing the ongoing excavations at the sites of ancient Kanesh and the associated trading settlement / karum.

The Wikipedia article entitled Kültepe, which earlier furnished us with data concerning the site of ancient Kanesh and its associated karum, also includes a summary of the excavations conducted at the karum, and a listing of its stratigraphy. The author sums up the history of excavations at the site in three brief sentences:

> In 1925, Bedřich Hrozný excavated Kültepe and found over 1000 cuneiform tablets, some of which ended up in Prague and some in Istanbul. Modern archaeological work began in 1948 when Kültepe was excavated by a team from the Turkish Historical Society and the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums. The team was led by Tahsin Özgüç until his death in 2005.

He then goes on to itemize the four strata at the site, supplying a few important details related to each. We reproduce the description of the four strata below, following which we add a few comments of our own.

> **Level IV-III**. Little excavation has been done for these levels, which represent the kârum's first habitation (Mellaart 1957). No writing is attested, and archaeologists assume that both levels' inhabitants were illiterate.
> **Level II**, 1974 BC - 1836 BC (Mesopotamian Middle Chronology according to Veenhof). Craftsmen of this time and place specialized in earthen drinking vessels, in the shapes of animals, that were often used for religious rituals. During this period, Assyrian merchants established a merchant colony (*kârum*) attached to the city, which was called "Kaneš". Bullae of Naram-Sin of Eshnunna have been found toward the end of this level (Ozkan 1993), which was burned to the ground.
> **Level 1b**, 1798 BC - 1740 BC. After an interval of abandonment, the city was rebuilt over the ruins of the old and again became a prosperous trade center. This trade was under the control of Ishme-Dagan, who was put in control of Assur when his father, Shamshi-Adad I, conquered Ekallatum and Assur. However, the colony was again destroyed by fire.
> **Level 1a**. The city was re-inhabited, but the Assyrian colony was no longer inhabited. The culture was early Hittite. Its name in Hittite became "Kaneša", but was more commonly contracted to "Neša".

We should add the fact that excavations of level 1b (dated 1798-1740 BC) and the older level II (dated 1974-1836 BC) were extremely productive, especially in recovering inscribed materials. Level 2 yielded well over 20,000 tablets, including the six eponym tablets (KEL A-F), which are contemporary with the reigns of Erishum 1, Ikunum, Sharru-ken, Puzur-Assur, and the first half of the reign of Naram-Sin. Level 1b excavations, while yielding only around 400 tablets, furnished the tablet KEL G, recently published, a critical source document for the dating schema which we outlined earlier, especially for completing the year names assigned to the reigns of Naram-Sin and Erishum II, not to mention Shamshi-Adad I and his son. These 20,000 plus tablets are at present housed in museums, libraries of academic institutions, national archives and private collections around the world. It is estimated that at least 75% of the tablet inscriptions have yet to be translated and published, though the process is ongoing as we speak.

We reproduce below a table detailing precisely which limmu names are contained on each of the seven known eponym lists excavated at the Kanesh karum. The table is copied from the online *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (CDLI) site entitled The Old and Middle Assyrian limmu officials. As the name implies, this web page provides a comprehensive listing of all of the limmu names from the reigns of Shamshi-Adad I & Ishme-Dagan as well as Erishum II and his five predecessors. The site also provides an excellent summary of the key publications

related to each of the eponym lists as well as the three existing versions the *Mari Eponym Chronicle*. It may be advisable for the reader to bookmark the webpage.

Table 4: The Kultepe Eponym Lists KEL A-G

Kings of Aššur (years of reign) dates of reigns	**KEL A**	**KEL B**	**KEL C**	**KEL D**	**KEL E**	**KEL F**	**KEL G**
Erišum I (40) 1972-1933	1-40*	1-40*	1-20*	1-40*	1-40*	1-7*	
Ikūnum (15) 1932-1918	41-55	41-55		41-55	41-55		
Šarru-kēn (40) 1917-1878	56-95	56-95		56-95	56-95		
Puzur-Aššur II (8) 1877-1870	96-103	96-103		96-103	96		
Narām-Suen (34+0 to 20) 1869-	104-130	104-106		104			111-
Erišum II (7+0 to 20) -1809							-164
Šamšī-Adad I (33) 1808-1776							165-197
Išme-Dagan (40?) 1775-1736?							198-237
							238-255

The reason for our interest in the Kanesh karum has already been noted. It is of fundamental concern to this paper that its unique features be documented and its use of limmus distinguished from the eponym process existing in the contemporary vassal state of Assur.

We begin to distinguish the Kanesh and the Assur eponym systems by objecting to the use of the term “Assyrian” use by scholars to describe both the Kanesh settlement and the traders who were permanent residents at the site. Almost all of the 20,000 plus tablets excavated at the site of Kanesh in level II were found in approximately 100 private homes once occupied by the extended families of prominent traders at the site, most of whom had their own private archives documenting the multitude of transactions related to their trading business. It was from among these traders that the yearly “limmus” were selected, and assigned the task of collecting duty and taxes related to trade at the site, and assessing fines and other penalties also related to the trading operations. And we argue that few, in any of these traders were necessarily of Assyrian origin. Evidence of their ethnicity is completely lacking at the Kanesh settlement.

Certainly the limmu names at Kanesh do not betray the ethnicity of the holders of that important office. We have not bothered to count the divine names contained on the entire list of eponyms, most of which also include the name of the father of the limmu, but of the first 200 names observed, twenty included the name of Assur. Ten others furnished the name of Ishtar, jointly worshipped in Assyria and Babylonia, and five incorporate the name of the Akkadian god Adad. The name of Assur, almost completely absent at first, increased in frequency over time, as we expected it might, since Assur was the dominant god in Upper Mesopotamia. But the Akkadian deities Ishtar and Adad continued to be prominent among the occupants of Kanesh, as we might expect since the traders, probably without exception, were

sponsored by the Erishum dynasty kings, domiciled in a city state once part of Sargon's Akkadian dynasty.

What then has led scholars to the opinion that Kanesh was an Assyrian enclave? Only one fact can account for this dominant opinion. Many of the archived letters at Kanesh conclusively identify the six Erishum dynasty kings as the central authority in the operation of the karum. And scholars consistently reference these six "kings" as "kings of Assur", giving the false impression that they are Assyrians resident in that city, not Akkadian kings residing in Nurrugum. But the ethnicity of the Erishum dynasty kings is not in doubt, and neither is their residence, as we have already argued. Not only did their city state encompass Nineveh, once the domicile of Manishtushu, son of Sargon the Great, but two of these kings, Sharru-kin (Sargon) and Naram-Sin, bear names that betray their Akkadian ancestry. That and the fact, previously mentioned, that the end of the Akkad dynasty is dated only seven generations prior to the reign of Shamshi-Adad I, which suggests a strong connection between the Akkadians and the Erishum dynasty kings. In our Figure 7 on page 37 below we demonstrate conclusively that the reign of Sulili followed immediately the end of the Sargon's Akkadian empire. In any case, it follows that many if not most of the occupants of the Kanesh karum were at one time residents of Nurrugum, not Assyria. Thus our earlier reference to the trading settlement at Kanesh as an Akkadian trading center.

We should make it absolutely clear that none of the several hundred limmu names found in the eponym lists KEL A-G (and double that number if we include the names of their fathers) had anything at all to do with the daily operations of tiny city state of Assur, in spite of claims to the contrary by authors such as Mogens Trolle Larsen, who interprets the frequent references to a " (home) City" (alum^{ki}) in the Kanesh letters as a reference to Assur, mere wishful thinking on his part, based largely on the misconception that the Nurrugum kings, and the inhabitants of the trading community in Kanesh had Assur as their base of operations. The Akkadian term *alum*^{ki} is the generic word for "city". To regard it as a unique designation of Assur is totally unwarranted. [For this bizarre interpretation see page 196-7 in that author's book entitled Ancient Kanesh: A Merchant Colony in Bronze Age Anatolia.] We examined an extremely limited sample of 18 letters and legal texts translated and published by this same Mogens Trolle Larsen on pp 92-128 of the volume Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Volume 1: Tablets, Cones and Bricks of the Third and Second Millennia (edited by Ira Spar). Even this limited sampling furnished several unambiguous references to limmu names which occur on the Kultepe Eponym Lists and several dozen others, absent the names of their fathers, which might otherwise be identified with names on those same KEL lists. These letters without exception are descriptive of long standing residents of the Kanesh community, not inhabitants of a city 600 miles distant temporarily transplanted to central Anatolia. And those few letters furnished two clear examples of the "limmu" executing some of his assigned duties in Kanesh, not Assur. Line 47 of letter #75 is a case in point. The letter records the arrival of a trade caravan in the Kanesh karum, and near its conclusion it is stated that 5 minas of silver was paid "to the eponym (*ana limim*)". As mentioned earlier one of the primary duties of the limmus in

the Kanesh karum was the collection of taxes and duty on traded commodities. They also functioned to assign penalties/fines for violations of "fair trading practices" and participated in the adjudication process for settling disputes among traders. We fail to see any correlation between these clearly defined responsibilities and those of the limmus of Ashuruballit in Assur, who functioned as part of the temple operations. Any reader still confused regarding this issue should perhaps read the translation of letter #84a beginning on page 118 where lines 64-106 record a lengthy legal dispute which makes frequent references to "the primary assembly of the Kanesh harbor", "the City" (alum^{ki}), and the "assembly of the City", all operative in the vicinity of the Kanesh karum. The City in this context is clearly a reference to Kanesh itself as it undoubtedly is everywhere else, unless otherwise qualified. It is also recommended that the reader peruse lines 6 & 7 of letter 78a (page 107) where there does exist a rare reference to the "city of Assur" (alum^{ki} Assur), the proverbial "exception that proves the rule." In this instance a trader makes reference to Assur as the residence of a sister of a fellow worker from whom he has received some jewelry items for trade. It should be painfully obvious that when the Kanesh letter writers choose to reference a city other than Kanesh itself, they spelled out the name of the city in question.

One final letter needs to be mentioned before we leave Kanesh behind. While unrelated to the eponym process we have been discussing, this letter, or rather the seal impression on the letter, has some bearing on an historical issue we will be discussing in the concluding section of this paper. Letter #92 on page 135ff, while undated, is part of the Kanesh archive, and therefore at the earliest must be dated after the first year of Erishum I, to whom we have assigned the dates 1534-1495 BC. The seal belongs to Ibbi-Sin, the terminal king of the Ur III dynasty one of the peripheral kingdoms we will be examining briefly at the conclusion of this paper.

Before we leave the subject of eponyms behind and turn our attention to matters more directly related to the city state of Assur and its sequence of vice-regent governors (i.e. kings #41-73), we must discuss briefly the one major problem confronting scholars who believe that the Kanesh eponym lists predate the use of eponyms by the Assyrian ancestors of Ashuruballit I. We refer to the fact that the AKL, when describing the return of Shamshi-Adad I from his self-imposed exile in Karduniash, utilizes eponyms to record his progress. We quoted the AKL entry earlier on page 3. Here we quote it again.

> [39] Šamši-Adad[I], son of Ila-kabkabi, went to Karduniaš in the time of Naram-Sin. In the eponymy of **Ibni-Adad**, Šamši-Adad went up from Karduniaš. He took Ekallatum, where he stayed three years. In the eponymy of **Atamar-Ištar**, Šamši-Adad went up from Ekallatum. He ousted Erišum, son of Naram-Sin, from the throne and took it. He ruled for 33 years. (emphasis added)

The sense of this quote is perfectly clear. The return of Shamshi-Adad I from Babylonia to his patriarchal home in Ekallatum, three years prior to his defeat of Erishum II in Nurrugum, is dated to the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, which in context must be the fourth year from the end of the reign of Erishum II. Three years later, in the eponymy of Atamar-Ishtar, the last year of Erishum's reign, he led his army north to Nurrugum and "ousted Erishum (II) from the throne and took it". It follows that the eponym name of Erishum's final year must be Atamar-Ishtar.

The problem arises via a search for the eponyms Ibni-Adad and Atamar-Ishtar on the Kanesh Eponym List G, which alone provides the Kanesh eponyms for the reign of Erishum II. In theory KEL G ought to furnish the requisite names. Surprisingly, at least from the perspective of advocates of the traditional history, those names are not present in the requisite positions in the Kanesh List. In fact, they do not occur at all during the reign of Erishum II, though there are several instances of the name Ibni-Adad elsewhere in the KEL documents, though these are decades removed from end of the reign of Erishum II. And even more problematic is the fact that the name Atamar-Ishtar is completely foreign to all of the KEL lists. Even the most sympathetic follower of the traditional history must admit that this is a serious problem, so much so that since the publication of KEL G in 2008 serious efforts have been made to explain the absence of the two limmu names. We mention only one very recent attempt. In 2014 Yigal Bloch wrote a 20 page article in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* [JNES 73 (2014) 191-210] entitled "The Conquest Eponyms of Šamšī-Adad I and the Kaneš Eponym List", in which he examined all the possible reasons why the two AKL limmu names are not found in the KEL G eponym list. We will not review his conclusions here, save to say that he rejected every known proposal made by scholars to date, and ended up arguing that the author of the Assyrian King List has misread the KEL G name Inbi-Ishtar as Ibni-Adad, the KEL G name Amur-Assur as Athamar-Ishtar, and though the two names Inbi-Ishtar and Amur-Assur do not occur late in the reign of Erishum II as they should, the AKL author has mistakenly assumed that they do correspond to the time of the re-conquest of Ekallatum and the conquest of Erishum II by Shamshi-Adad I. Quite frankly, the argument is not just a stretch, it makes absolutely no sense, but it does serve to underscore the seriousness of the problem.

For the revised history there is no need for these linguistic gymnastics. The fact that the two limmu names on the AKL are not to be found on KEL G is precisely what should be expected. We have argued consistently that at all times throughout the duration of the Erishum dynasty, two distinct sets of limmu officials existed, one in Kanesh, and one in Assur. We believe that the author of the AKL *vorlage*, writing sometime between the years 1290 and 1243 BC, was correctly dating the Ekallatum and Nurrugum invasions, but that he was using the Assyrian, not the Kanesh eponyms. That fact should not surprise anyone. He was likely an Assyrian scribe. We would be surprised if he was even aware of the existence of the Kanesh system, a system largely restricted to that remote trading community, 600 plus miles to the north and east of Assur. And since the end of the reign of Erishum II (1388-1369 BC) is synchronized on our Table 2 timeline chart with the reign of Eriba-Adad I (1380-1353 BC), scholars should search the inscriptions of that Assyrian king to find the names Ibni-Adad and Athamar-Ishtar. To date less

than a dozen eponym years of Eriba-Adad I have been identified, or so we are informed, though this author is not privy to the whereabouts of most of the alleged source documents. The names Ibni-Adad and Athamar-Ishtar are apparently not attested. But Eriba-Adad I reigned for 28 years. There remains the distinct possibility that one or both names will surface in the future, not only solving the problem presently under discussion, but absolutely confirming our hypothesis of parallel dynastic timelines.

We leave that matter behind us and now journey from Kanesh to Assur, to argue one last time that the governing authorities in that tiny religious enclave in the days of Erishum I through to Erishum II were the ancestors of Ashuruballit I, and that Ashuruballit himself was the vice-regent of Assur in the latter half of the reign of Shamshi-Adad I.

The state of Assur during the Erishum dynasty, the rule of Shamshi-Adad I, and beyond.

This section is added for one reason only. Many (if not most) of the readers of this paper will have difficulty accepting the fact that the Erishum dynasty kings in Nurrugum, and the Assyrian ancestors of Ashuruballit in Assur, could possibly co-exist within miles of one another for several hundred years, if not twice that length of time, with no apparent signs of conflict. Assuming that this incredulity exists, we assume further that it results, at least in part, from two fundamental misconceptions. The first relates to our lack of knowledge about precisely what transpired during those many centuries. The reader may be of the mistaken impression that because we know the eponym name of every year in the two hundred year history of the Erishum dynasty, and have limited information about miscellaneous historical events that occurred in the approximately four hundred years during which the descendents of Sulili governed Nurrugum, that we ought to know what transpired between these Akkadian overlords and their vassal states. That opinion would be a mistake. The second misconception concerns the size and strength of the Assyrian state and the status of the Assyrian "kings" during this time frame. If we can convince the reader that all of the ancestors of Ashuruballit, and Ashuruballit himself, functioned as mere "caretaker priests of a minuscule city state only miles in circumference" then most of the difficulty ought to disappear. With that in mind we proceed to correct these two misconceptions.

1) **Relative lack of inscriptional evidence attesting the relations between Nurrugum and Assur**. We begin by emphasizing the fact that we do not anticipate finding any clear reference to any of the rulers of the Assyrian state in the extant letters of the Erishum dynasty kings. For example, it would be extremely fortuitous if we were to stumble on a late inscription of Erishum II or an early inscription of Shamshi-Adad I that mentions the existence of either Eriba-Adad I or Ashuruballit I as vice-regent of Assur, or conversely an inscription of an Assyrian "king" who alludes to the co-existence of an Erishum dynasty counterpart (though one possible example of the latter will in fact be mentioned below). There is simply too little existing documentation of any of these "kings" to engage in such "wishful thinking". Only a handful of inscriptions are extant from the reign of Erishum I, and almost none from his predecessors or successors. As for the Assyrian rulers we are in the midst of what scholars refer to as the

"Assyrian dark age". When Grayson wrote volume I of his "*Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*" in 1972 he acknowledged the fact that not a single contemporary inscription could be found for kings #41-58 (Ashur-Dugul to Ishme-Dagan II), nor for any of the kings #63-68 (Nur-ili to Ashur-Nirari II) named in the existing AKL. That leaves only eight kings to examine leading up to the reign of Ashuruballit I, and these kings provide us with at most a combined two dozen inscriptions, mostly one liner's recording some building activity or preserving a genealogy on some artifact. The only contemporary inscription in this small collection which contains an historical reference of significance is an inscription of Puzur-Ashur III, king #61 on the AKL, found on limestone slabs at Assur and translated by Grayson on page 35 of his ARI.

> 208. Puzur-Ashur, vice-regent of the god Ashur, son of Ashur-nerari (I), (who was) also vice-regent of the god Ashur:
> 209. The room of the šuḫuru of the temple of the Assyrian Ishtar which Ilu-shuma, the prince, had built and Sargon (I), my forefather, son of Ikunum, had restored – (that structure) had become dilapidated and I rebuilt (it).

It is immediately apparent that in this brief inscription the Assyrian king Puzur-Ashur III is referencing repairs to an enclosure (šuḫuru) within a temple of Ishtar at Assur. The initial construction of the enclosure is credited to Ilu-shuma, father of Erishum I, to whom we have assigned the dates 1534-1495 (see table 3 on page 14 above). It follows therefore that the enclosure was built sometime shortly prior to 1534 BC. The initial repairs of the šuḫuru are credited to Erishum's grandson Sargon I (1480-1441). Clearly this enclosure, whatever its function, was used frequently and thus required frequent repair. In the present case as little as 55 years separate construction and repair of the original enclosure. But this fact raises two serious questions for advocates of the traditional history, for whom the reign of Ilu-shuma ended in the year 1975 BC and for whom the initial repairs by Sargon I (1920-1881) may be dated as early as the year 1920, 55 years after the construction. According to our inscription the next repair following that of Sargon I did not take place until the reign of Puzur-Ashur III, whose reign can be dated at the earliest in the years 1503-1479 BC (on the assumption that he ruled for 24 years), or 1493-1479 BC (assuming he ruled for only 14 years). On the one hand we wonder why the initial construction, which we assume would be the most secure, lasted as little as 55 years, while the repair by Sargon II lasted well over 400 years? And a related question inquires how the Assyrian king Puzur-Ashur III was even cognizant of which kings were involved in the initial construction and the ensuing repair? The construction or re-construction of enclosures such as this were generally not acknowledged by the original builder or subsequent repairer via the placement of cones or other testimonial tablets, and certainly this brief inscription makes no mention of any. But Puzur-Ashur is not only aware of who constructed and who first repaired the enclosure, he even addresses Sargon (I) as his "father" (lit. *abi* = "my father"), which Grayson explains away by paraphrasing the term as "my forefather".

The much more reasonable interpretation of this inscription is forthcoming from the revised history, which considers that the 12 Erishum dynasty kings and the sequence of *Assyrian King List* "kings" #41-73 ran parallel to one another, and that in these two parallel dynasties the suzerain Sargon I ruled between the years 1480-1441 BC, while the vassal Puzur-Ashur III governed (at the earliest) during the years 1503-1479 BC or 1493-1479 BC. And while their respective reigns overlapped by only a single year in this scenario, we have yet to comment on the interpretive irregularities which have moved the BC dates for Puzur-Ashur III back in time by at least 30 years. To arrive at the assigned dates for Puzur-Ashur III traditional scholars have assigned 18 and 15 years respectively to kings #65 (Ashur-rabi I) and #66 (Ashur-nadin-ahhe I), whose dates are situated in damaged sections of all three source documents of the existing AKL, and whom we cited earlier as kings for whom absolutely no contemporary inscriptions exist. Both of these kings are virtual unknowns, both were involved in coups, and the sum total of their reigns is likely closer to three than the thirty-three years assigned them. In fact, the king Ashur-Shaduni, whose reign immediately preceded that of Ashur-rabi, is credited with only a single month on the throne of Assur, before being replaced by Ashur-rabi via a coup. This was a volatile time in the history of Assur, hardly a time to credit two unknown kings with ruling longer that almost any predecessor or any successor up to the time of Eriba-Adad I. Reducing their combined reign lengths by thirty years would move the dates of Puzur-Ashur III forward in time by thirty years, and other minor alterations might move them forward even more . While the dates for Sargon I remain fixed in the years 1480-1441, the reign of Puzur-Ashur III will now be dated in the years 1463-1449 BC. In this scenario all of our interpretive questions find ready answers. Dating the repairs by Puzur-Ashur III around 1449 BC they would follow those by Sargon I by around 30 years, a reasonable lapse of time considering that the initial construction by Ilu-shuma might be expected to last longer (55 years) than would the reconstruction by Sargon I (30 years). And since Sargon and Puzur-Ashur III were contemporaries, and in constant communication (as we might expect when the two parties were in a suzerain/vassal relationship) there is no problem understanding whence Puzur-Ashur came to know about the initial construction and repair of the Ishtar temple's šuḫuru enclosure. And finally, it is a well-known fact that the vassal in such long term relationships *always* addressed the suzerain as "my father" (*abi*).

If we are correct in the previous analysis, this one inscription should serve to prove that Sargon (I) and Puzur-Ashur (III) were contemporaries, that our assumption of parallel dynasties is absolutely correct, and that Assuruballit I and Shamshi-Adad I, who head the two dynastic lists in our Table 2, ruled their respective domains simultaneously.

But we are not yet finished. On page 30 above we stated that two misconceptions on the part of readers hinder their acceptance of our thesis of parallel dynasties in Nurrugum and Ashur. The first misconception has been addressed. The second, related to the size of the "city state of Assur" and the status of its "kings" remains to be clarified.

2) **The miniscule size of the "city state of Assur" and the status of its "kings".** The reader of this paper needs to constantly bear in mind that when we refer to the "state of Assur" we are not speaking of an extensive territorial domain, governed by kings residing in palaces and in possession of an army. Nothing could be further from the truth when our focus is on "kings" #41-73 on the AKL. In the first place not a single one of these individuals ever identifies himself as a "king" though we continue to employ the term consistent with modern usage. Instead, it is instructive to read a single inscription authored by Ashuruballit I in relation to this subject.

> 281. Ashur-uballit, vice-regent of the god Ashur [*išši'ak aššur*], son of Eriba-Adad (I); Eriba-Adad (I), vice-regent of the god Ashur, (was) the son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu; Ashur-bel-nisheshu, vice-regent of the god Ashur, (was) the son of Ashur-nerari (II); Ashur-nerari (II), vice-regent of the god Ashur, (was) the son of Ashur-rabi (I); Ashur-rabi (I), vice-regent of the god Ashur, (was) the son of Enlil-nasir (I); Enlil-nasir (I), vice-regent of the god Ashur, (was) the son of Puzur-Ashur (III), vice-regent of the god Ashur:
> 282. Ashur-uballit, governor [*ensi*] of the god Enlil, vice-regent of the god Ashur, [for his life] and the well-being of his city the [. . .] of New City [which previously] had been built outside but now was situated within the city – which Puzur-Ashur (III), my forefather, the prince, had previously built – had become dilapidated; I (Ashur-uballit) rebuilt (it) from top to bottom. I deposited my clay cone.
> 283. The gods Ashur, Adad, and Bel-sharri will listen to the prayers of a later prince when that house becomes dilapidated and he rebuilds (it). May (the same prince) restore my clay cone to its place.
> 284. Month of Muhur-ilani, eponym of Enlil-mudammiq. (Grayson, ARI, Volume 1 (1972) 44) [Items in square brackets added.]

We notice in this inscription that Ashuruballit bears two titles. On the one hand he and all his named ancestors bore the title *išši'ak aššur*, which Grayson translates as "vice regent *of* Assur", as do all modern scholars, and early Assyriologists such as Luckenbill (ARAB Vol. 1, p. 22 sect. 591) translate as "priest of Assur". Ashuruballit is also referred to by the title ensi, translated here as "governor", but since the Assyrian term is often written in Sumerian logograms as PA.TE.SI, it was just as often simply transcribed as *patesi* by scholars in the early 20th century. Both of these terms clearly describe the bearer of the title as under the authority of the god with whom the title is associated. Neither one identifies the bearer as the "head of state" of anything approaching a "kingdom". **The state of Assyria as we know it from the exploits of later "kings" had not yet come into being!**

The point we are making in the preceding paragraph should be clear to the reader. Ashuruballit and his ancestors were at most "petty governors of a petty kingdom", albeit a well-respected religious center, home of a multitude of gods worshipped not only by Assyrians, but also by Amorites, Akkadians, and Babylonians generally. The fact that these Assyrian "vice-regents/priests" existed for multiple hundreds of years as vassals of other kings, including the

rulers of the dynasty of Sargon of Akkad, the Akkadian descendants of Sulili, and the Amorite kings Shamshi-Adad I and Hammurabi, is confirmation that we are on the right track when we argue that in the time frame under consideration (i.e. the first two-thirds of the 2nd millennium) they are hardly deserving of mention in the inscriptions of their overlords. And it is therefore not surprising that the names of Ashuruballit and his ancestors have not surfaced in the inscriptions of their contemporaries. They would be considered of no more consequence than the chief-priests of the local gods in Assur.

The preceding appraisal of Ashuruballit depends, of course, on the treatment accorded many of the Ashuruballit inscriptions by our revised history. Without exception every tablet inscription which treats Ashuruballit I as anything more than a "religious functionary" has been assigned by the revised history to the (unnumbered) Ashuruballit who acted as an associate king of Adad-Nirari II in the late 10th century BC. But even if the critic chooses to disregard our reassignment of these inscriptions, he/she will have to admit that even the traditional history admits that all of the other Assyrian kings named on the AKL preceding Ashuruballit were deserving of our title as "petty kings of a petty kingdom". It is the considered opinion of traditional historians that Ashuruballit I rose to power "out of nowhere", and is consequently regarded as the first true king of the land of Assur (*DINGER mat Assur*). Thus in many listings of Assyrian kings he and his father Eriba-Adad I are cited as the first kings of the Middle Assyrian Empire, the first authentic "kings of Assyria" as we have come to understand that phrase.

With respect to Ashuruballit I, this will not be the first time that traditional scholars have blundered by assigning titles denoting greatness to undeserving kings. In "Piankhi the Chameleon", the second book of our *Displaced Dynasties* series, we proved that the 18th dynasty king Menkheperre Thutmose, identified by scholars as "the greatest military leader in Egyptian dynastic history", who supposedly ruled Egypt with unprecedented military might for upwards of fifty years, was in fact a pathetic non-descript "nobody" who died a cripple at a very young age. Let the reader decide in the present instance whether or not the "Ashuruballit inscriptions" have been correctly reassigned, relegating to Ashuruballit I mere priestly governance/oversight of the tiny religious state of Assur.

While we are on this theme we should perhaps point out how, when, and why Assyria did finally emerge as a world-governing power. The exercise will be worth-while, supporting as it does our positioning of the Assyrian time-line in relation to the others in our Figure 3. While Assyria did not emerge as an independent and powerful Near Eastern nation during the reign of Ashuruballit I, it did do precisely that within twenty-five years of his death. And our timeline charts explain how when and why that happened. And since in our discussion we make constant recourse to our Figure 3 timeline chart (bottom of page 15), it would be helpful if the reader had ready access to a copy of that diagram.

We note in the first place that mid-way through the reign of Ashuruballit I (1352-1318), his suzerain Shamshi-Adad I was deposed by Hammurabi (1336 BC), and less than a dozen years later, still within the tenure of Ashuruballit I, Ishme-Dagan was deposed in Ekallatum (ca 1328

BC), also by Hammurabi. Though remaining a vassal state, with Ashuruballit functioning as its vice-regent and ensi, Assyria was at long last free of the confines imposed by near-neighbor overlords in Nurrugum and Ekallatum. Hammurabi, meanwhile, was a benevolent landlord, and may even have encouraged the expansion of the Assyrian state in order to provide a buffer against the enhanced fortunes of Mari, now back in the hands of the Lim dynasty, and in control of much of the land-mass formerly held by Shamshi-Adad I and his sons. Later kings, specifically the grand-son and great-grandson of Ashuruballit, Arik-den-ili and Adad-Nirari I respectively, attribute to him military excursions to the north and east of Assur, which can in no way have taken place prior to the demise of Shamshi-Adad and his sons, nor without the blessing of (and probably the assistance of) Hammurabi. They also refer to him as a "king", something he refrained from calling himself during his lifetime, assuming of course that we have correctly removed the few inscriptions that refer to him as such.

We note, secondly, that Enlil-Nirari (1317-1308), son and successor of Ashuruballit I, continues to designate himself only as *išši'ak aššur*, predictable since his reign fell almost entirely within the last decade of the reign of Hammurabi, his overlord, and especially so since in ca 1319 BC Hammurabi had attacked and defeated Zimri-Lim in Mari, incorporating that kingdom into his enlarging empire. But suddenly and without warning, after multiple centuries of waiting, kingship finally arrived in Assyria during the reign of Arik-den-ili (1307-1296), grandson of Assuruballit I. While this king, presumably early in his abbreviated ten year reign, continued to refer to himself and his ancestors as *išši'ak aššur*, other inscriptions, arguably dated later in his reign, designate him as "king of Assyria" and posthumously assign that status to his two predecessors.

Thus we read on three clay cones from Ashur,

> Arik-den-ili, vice-regent of the god Ashur, son of Enlil-narari, vice-regent of the god Ashur, son of Ashur-uballit, who (was) also vice-regent of the god Ashur, … (Grayson ARI (1972) 356 #5,6,&7)

while an inscription on a brick, almost certainly from late in this king's brief reign, reads

> Property of the palace of Arik-din-ili, king of Assyria, son of Enlil-narari, king of Assyria, son of Ashuruballit (I), king of Assyria (Grayson ARI (1972) 356 #4)

In the traditional history there is no need to explain this emergence of kingship in Assyria during the reign of Arik-den-ili, since historians of that persuasion have mistakenly assumed that kingship actually began two generations earlier, during the reign of Ashuruballit I. But even that supposed earlier eruption of political power has yet to be explained by traditional scholars. For the revised history there is a ready explanation for the rise to power of Arik-den-ili (1307-1296). A glance at our Table 3 timelines quickly tells the story. In 1310 Hammurabi died, leaving the Amorite kingdom he had forged to his less than competent son Samsuiluna (1310-1272). We spent considerable time in our paper #10 detailing the disintegration of Hammurabi's kingdom that took place in the early years of Samsuiluna. Territories adjacent to Babylonia quickly defected, including the Sealand dynasty. Suzerainty over more distant

territorial possessions soon followed. Almost certainly included in the latter was the loss of Assyria. And the beneficiary of that territorial loss was Arik-den-ili, who promptly built himself a palace.

The rest of the story vis-à-vis Assyria has already be discussed in earlier papers in our Chronology section. Freed from external restraint for the first time in close to four hundred years, Assyria quickly evolved into the powerful state our readers have come to associate with the term "Assyria". Grayson, in his ARI, remarks on the "explosion" of inscriptional evidence attesting the expanded role of the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari I (1295-1264) in the affairs of the Ancient Near East, as Assyria, less than twenty years after the death of Hammurabi, came into possession of much of Hammurabi's kingdom north of Babylonia. And the renewed strength of Assyria could not have come at a more opportune time, since in 1290 B.C., five years into the reign of Adad-Nirari I, the Kassites invaded and conquered Babylonia, and might well have extended their dominance to include Assyria, but for the renewed strength of the Assyrian state. As we have argued earlier in this revision, Babylonia, now called Karduniash, still ruled by the descendants of Hammurabi, not only became, but remained a vassal state of the Kassites for the balance of "Hammurabi's dynasty", thus until the year 1155 B.C. when the raid by Mursilis I brought that dynasty to an end.

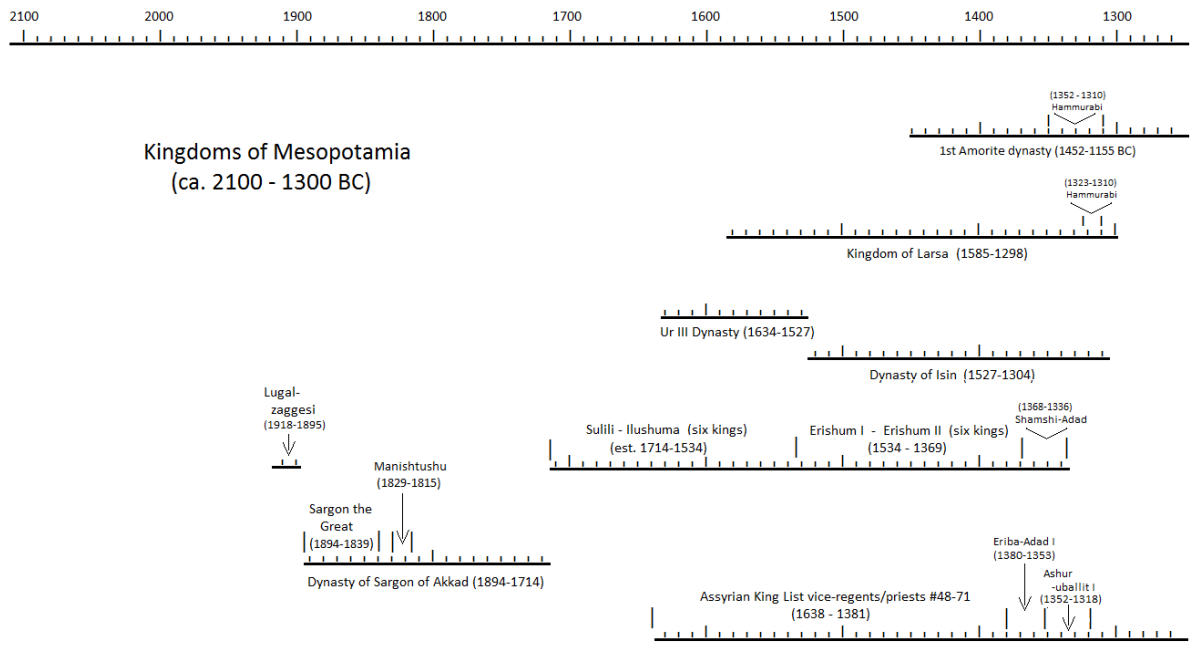
We have come full circle. Our timeline chart on page 15 above has been linked to all of our Babylonian revisions outlined in papers #3-10. In the opinion of this author the absolute dates provided in that chart are probably accurate to within a half-dozen years.

Only one promised item remains to be discussed.

Summary of the Chronology of the Ancient Near East in the 1st Two-Thirds of the 2nd Millennium BC.

Several times in this paper we have had cause to mention the chronology of Ancient Near Eastern kingdoms other than those that are the subject of discussion in this paper. Thus we mentioned briefly the kingdom of Sargon of Akkad and the name of Manistushu, the 3rd king of his dynasty, claiming the fact that Sulili and his descendants inherited Sargon's legacy. We also recently commented on the presence of a seal of Ibbi-Sin, the last king of the Ur III dynasty, on a tablet which was part of the Kultepe Eponym archives, thus presumably to be dated early in the reign of Erishum I. We would be remiss if we did not make some attempt at providing specific dates for these kingdoms, and others which existed adjacent to the Assyrian and Sulili/Erishum dynasty timelines discussed in this paper. This we have done, if only to provide future scholars with the beginnings of a comprehensive revision of Ancient Near Eastern history encompassing the whole of the 2nd millennium BC. The results of our analysis are depicted in the Figure 7 timeline chart on the following page. The chart is followed by a very brief outline of the reasoning on which the timelines are based.

Figure 7: 2nd Millennium Kingdoms Adjacent to our Assyrian and Erishum Dynasty Timelines Depicted in Figure 3 on page 15.



The timelines in Figure 7 represents our first attempt at providing dates for a multitude of Mesopotamian kingdoms that existed during the 2nd millennium BC. Those representing the 1st (Amorite) dynasty of Babylon (i.e. Hammurabi's dynasty), the Akkadian descendants of Sulili (aka "the Erishum dynasty"), and the Assyrian ancestors of Ashuruballit I (AKL "kings" #41-73), are already known to readers of this paper. The additions to date consist of the five "dynasties" named in the following table, with links provided to assist the reader in accessing a related Wikipedia article for each. The revised dates assigned to these dynasties are consistent with data presented in this paper.

Table 5: 2nd millennium Mesopotamian kingdoms added to our Figure 7 timelines

Dynasty or Kingdom	Revised History Dates
Kingdom of Larsa	(1585-1298)
Ur III dynasty	(1634-1527)
1st dynasty of Isin	(1527-1304)
Dynasty of Sargon of Akkad	(1894-1714)
Lugalzugesi of Umma	(1918-1895)

The kingdom of Larsa overlapped much of "Hammurabi's dynasty". It was, in fact, the dominant power in Sumer until finally conquered by Hammurabi late in that king's reign. Thus the revised dates assigned to Hammurabi determine the revised time frame for the Larsa kingdom, and for this reason the reader can be assured that the dates 1585-1298 BC we have assigned to this dynasty of kings is reasonably accurate. When Hammurabi died in 1310 BC the kingdom of Larsa was bequeathed to his son Samsuiluna, who lost control of the city state by 1302 BC. Control of Larsa then reverted to Rim-Sin II and within four years was lost again to Babylon, at which time the kingdom ceased to exist as an independent entity.

The Ur III dynasty and the 1st dynasty of Isin existed in succession, when Ibbi-Sin, the terminal king of the Ur III kingdom lost a power struggle with Ishbe-Erra of Isin, a former official in his administration. An assortment of dates are assigned to these two kingdoms in the traditional history. Needless to say those dates would all need to be reduced by upwards of 400 years, since both kingdoms are known to have overlapped to some extent the kingdom of Larsa. Rather than simply reduce traditional dates by some as yet indeterminate number, we have chosen here to follow a different tactic, since on page 28 above we discussed the fact that a sealed document of Ibbi-Sin was unearthed in level II at Kultepe, synchronizing his reign, and in all likelihood that of Ishbe-Erra, with that of Erishum I, and most likely dating the transition from one dynasty to the other very early in Erishum's reign. Thus we have placed the end of Ur III and the beginning of the dynasty of Isin in the year 1527, seven years after the onset of the reign of Erishum I in 1534. And since the Ur III dynasty lasted approximately 107 years (other sources say 115 years) and the dynasty of Isin 223 years, we arrive at the revised history dates for the two dynasties cited in our table 5.

Without doubt the most critical kingdom added to our timelines is that of Sargon's Akkadian dynasty. Unlike the other three we have referenced above, Sargon's kingdom was not local. His rule encompassed not only the Babylonian territories of Sumer and Akkad, but northward through the whole of upper Mesopotamia and beyond. We leave it to the reader to peruse the Wikipedia article related to his reign. On the 3rd page of that article we find a table recording the seven known kings belonging to this dynasty, together with the dates of each king as determined by traditional historians following the "middle chronology". While we know that these dates must be reduced by approximately 440 years to bring them into line with reductions applied earlier to middle chronology dates for the Amorite dynasty of Hammurabi and the "Erishum dynasty" of Nurrugum, we should point out the fact that the 440 year reduction does not necessarily apply to all "middle chronology" dates. In the case of Hammurabi that number was proved to be accurate by the argument in the whole of paper #10. The reduction was then applied to "Erishum dynasty" middle chronology traditional dates, since these had been determined in relation to the 18th year of Hammurabi. But in the case of the "kingdom of Akkad" we are frequenting new territory. We do not know precisely how the dates in the table on page 3 of the Wikipedia article were derived. Thus our dilemma.

In the final analysis we decided that the 440 year reduction must be close to the truth and thus we proceeded to apply it to the Wikipedia table, which fortuitously had left a blank column to be filled with revised history dates. The result is shown in our Table 6 below, according to which Sargon's Akkadian kingdom should be assigned the revised dates 1894-1714 BC. These are the dates already included in our table 5 above.

Table 6: Traditional and Revised History dates for Sargon's Akkadian kingdom.

Ruler	Middle Chronology	Revised Chronology
Sargon of Akkad	2334-2279	1894-1839
Rimush	2278-2270	1838-1830
Manishtushu	2269-2255	1829-1815
Naram-Sin of Akkad	2254-2218	1814-1778
Shar-Kali-Sharri	2217-2193	1777-1753
Interregnum	2192-2190	1752-1750
Dudu	2189-2169	1749-1729
Shu-durul	2168-2154	1728-1714

It goes without saying that the remarkable connection in our timeline chart between the end of the Akkad dynasty in 1714, and the beginning of the reign of Sulili in 1714, is entirely artificial. There being no means whereby specific dates could be assigned to the reigns of the six kings Sulili-Ilushuma in our Table 7 above, we simply approximated the total by comparing these six kings with the six kings who succeeded them (Erishum I – Erishum II), who reigned a combined 165 years, spanning the time frame 1534-1369 BC. Adding 165 years to the year 1534 BC suggests that Sulili began his reign around the year 1700 BC. Based on our assumption, repeated several times in the course of this paper, that the Sulili dynasty arose from the ashes of the Akkad kingdom, we have arbitrarily changed the figure 1700 BC to 1714 BC to reflect that assumed fact.

We have added the reign of the Sumerian king Lugalzugessi of Umma (1918-1895) for two reasons. On the one hand it was the conquest of the realm of this lone king which launched the career of Sargon the Great. On the other hand the introduction of this king, the last of the known kings belonging to the post-diluvian world exposed by the Sumerian King List, reminds us that we are rapidly approaching the third millennium, in the middle of which, following the numbers recorded in the Hebrew Bible, the entire globe was engulfed by a flood of such massive proportions that its memory persisted for several thousands of years afterward in cultures around the world. According to the Hebrew Bible Noah, 600 years old at the time of the flood, lived for 350 years afterward, and probably died only two or three hundred years before Lugalzugessi. Civilization as we know it was only just beginning when this king reigned. In Egypt the 3rd dynasty is just emerging and the Israeli genius Joseph ben Jacob (alias Imhotep)

is engaged saving that nation from massive starvation and in planning the construction of the first pyramid. As always, let the reader decide if we are right.